Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1926 No. 3170

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 355
EDITORIALS:
Our War Claims Against Britain 358
Speaking of Crime 359
Franz Kneisel 359
The White House Fraud 360
THE WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN. By Hendrik van Loon 361
PARIS STYLES IN SHIRTS. By Ida Treat 362
BRIAND'S FAILURE. By Robert Dell 363
THE PULLMAN PEON: A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL RACE EXPLOITATION. By Benjamin Stolberg 365
THE PLIGHT OF THE FARMER. By Smith W. Brookhart 367
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 369
CORRESPONDENCE 369
BOOKS AND PLAYS:
Poems. By Whittaker Chambers 370
First Glance. By Mark Van Doren 370
The World-View of Modern Science. By Sterling P. Lamprecht 370
The Quick and the Dead. By Johan J. Smertenko 371
Morality and Choice. By Joseph Wood Krutch 372
Proportional Representation. By David Ralph Hertz 372
Books in Brief 373
Drama: Silver Lining. By Joseph Wood Krutch 374
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Haiti Misruled 376
The Haitian Council of State 380

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor

Associate Editors
LEWIS S. GANNETT
ARTHUR WARNER JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Managing Editor
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Literary Editor
MARK VAN DOREN

Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON LUDWIG LEWISOHN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS CARL VAN DOREN

DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: Nation, New York. Chicago Office: 38 So. Dearborn Street. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising: E. Thurtle, M.P., 36, Temple Fortune Hill, N.W. 11, England.

THE TREASURY has done well to cooperate with Representative Mills of New York in a bill to settle at once all war claims between the United States and its citizens and Germany. It is a great gain to have our Government thus upholding the sanctity of private property in war time and agreeing that any other attitude would violate our historic policy. According to the bill, immediate payment will be made to American citizens for damages validated by the Mixed Claims Commission. The method will be to issue Treasury bonds for the amount required, Germany in due course to reimburse our Government, which will agree to return at once the remainder of the seized German property now held by the Alien Property Custodian and to compensate damaged German nationals for property and patents destroyed or seized, to an amount not exceeding $100,000,000. The Acting Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Winston, puts the matter well:

> We have taken the property of private citizens and used it for our own purposes. The relief from their own Government is inadequate. We have enjoyed the benefit and we ought to pay. This does not mean the creation of a new moral obligation on the part of the United States, but simply the recognition of what we owe and the payment of fair compensation for property taken by the United States from others.

Now it is to be hoped Congress will act promptly. It will if it understands that most if not all of the money to be paid by us will stay here, that it will help greatly the present depressed economic situation in Germany, and that it will redound greatly to our honor for all time.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S decision to abandon the farmer at this session of Congress has called forth a vigorous protest from Senator Borah. "If some action is not taken," he declares, "it will mean disaster next fall"—presumably to the Republican Party. Senator Brookhart seconds him and declares that there is not a State in the Union in which agriculture is making money. We print elsewhere in this issue Senator Brookhart's views in detail on this important question, with some of which we can agree, with others not. There is no doubt, however, as to the gravity of the situation. Naturally, the President, in accordance with his temperament, does not desire to bear the onus of drafting legislation unless he is compelled to. He knows the elections are coming and he would rather trust to luck than to commit himself to schemes which might be of dubious value and would surely be denounced in some quarters as socialistic. Senator Jones, of Washington, takes refuge in the statement that there can be no legislation because the farmers are not agreed among themselves; as to this, we stand with Senator Brookhart that that does not relieve Congress of the necessity of doing something to relieve the present stringency. Of course, in our judgment, there can be no fundamental help for the farmer until the tariff is abolished, Europe restored, and relations with Russia resumed. But the farmer is right in growling when he sees himself compelled to pay tribute to the privileged classes who have that government aid in the fixing of their profits which is denied to him.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has undoubtedly won an important political victory in obtaining the confirmation of Thomas F. Woodlock as Interstate Commerce Commissioner after the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce had rejected the nomination. Only twenty-five Senators finally voted against him. Curiously enough, the controlling Senate machine refused to allow it to become known how the various Senators voted. Against this Senators Pittman, Norris, Borah, and others protested, Mr. Norris saying that this was the most important nomination which had come before the Senate this season; and yet they were not allowed to tell their constituents what position they took. What is even more significant is the fact that until the President announced that henceforth he would take geographical conditions carefully into account in making appointments to the commission, Mr. Woodlock was defeated. Among those who swung over was Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, who had voted against Mr. Woodlock not because of personal objections but because Pennsylvania had been neglected in the matter of appointments to this and other important governmental bodies. That was a poor excuse for opposing Mr. Woodlock, but it was a still poorer excuse that the Senator gave for changing his position. It has been carefully denied by him and others that there was any deal with the White House, but that something happened and that that something originated in the White House cannot be questioned.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OIL SCANDALS of the Harding Administration still hang fire in the courts as high-priced attorneys exhaust the boundless technicalities and delays of our legal procedure in an effort to protect their clients until public interest wanes and the effort to obtain justice for the government and the public grows correspondingly weaker. The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia decided on March 22 to allow special appeals in the conspiracy charges against Edward L. Doheny and Albert B. Fall. This means that the decision of a lower court overruling demurrers by Messrs. Doheny and Fall will be reviewed. Also the United States Supreme Court has announced that it will pass upon Doheny's Elk Hills oil lease and the projected oil base in Hawaii. The lease was canceled by a United States District Court in Los Angeles and this action was later upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. The lawyers for Messrs. Doheny and Fall are not to be blamed for resorting to every device in behalf of their clients, and probably the various judges concerned are following the law to the best of their ability. But law which permits such deviousness and dawdling is an incentive to crime and a mountain in the path of justice.

OUR STRONG-ARM GOVERNMENT of Haiti will further perpetuate its rule on April 12, according to present prospects, by permitting Louis Borno to reelect himself to the presidency for another four years. According to the constitution which we ourselves imposed upon Haiti after our illegal invasion and occupation, a President should be elected by the Haitian Senate and House, sitting as a National Assembly, every fourth year. But there is no National Assembly to sit because no legislative elections have been permitted in Haiti since the United States undertook to spread liberty and civilization there with the rifles of the Marine Corps. Puppet-President Borno was first elected in 1922 by the Council of State, a body to which temporary legislative functions (but no elective power) had been given by the Washington-made constitution. This Council of State, intended to be temporary but continued indefinitely because it is under the thumb of the Marine Corps and Mr. Borno, will on April 12 go through the illegal farce of again electing a President. In our International Relations Section this week we print a statement on Haiti which was read to the Senate lately by Senator King. This statement contains some recent information in regard to the shameful character of our bayonet rule in the republic. It recites, among other things, that twenty-seven journalists have been imprisoned in the last three years in the effort to reconcile the Haitian press to our rule of freedom and benevolence.

SUPPORT FOR THE BILL now before Congress to give civilian government to the Virgin Islands ought to increase in consequence of the latest antics of the navy-appointed judge there. The capers of George Washington Williams would be the making of a musical comedy on Broadway, but as the judge of the highest resort in the Virgin Islands he is rather a sorry joke. Our readers are aware that Rothschild Francis, editor of the *Emancipator* of St. Thomas, was some time ago convicted by Judge Williams, without a jury, of libeling a local policeman in a newspaper article. When later Mr. Francis criticized this verdict editorially, he was sentenced by Judge Williams for contempt of court. In our issue of March 17 we noted that the United States Court of Appeals in Philadelphia had overthrown the conviction for libel but had upheld the sentence for contempt. Now we learn that Mr. Francis has again been charged with contempt of court by Judge Williams for printing without comment the report of the American Civil Liberties Union on the Philadelphia decisions. The friends of decent and democratic government for the Virgin Islands ought to present Judge Williams with a purse for the way in which he is revealing the possibilities of the present naval government for czarism and folly.

WHEN ANDRÉ TARDIEU, staunch henchman of Poincaré, was elected to Parliament some weeks ago from a district in eastern France, conservative newspapers in the United States hailed the event as a happy sign of a return to "sanity and security" among the French. What will they say now to the news that the Communists won the two seats in the Chamber of Deputies for which the second district of Paris voted on March 28? The first election, two weeks previous, had been indecisive, the Nationalists casting 47,000 votes, the Communists 37,000, and the Radicals and Socialists some 30,000. In the final election the Radicals and Socialists voted with the Communists, and the candidates of the latter, Albert Fournier and Jacques Duclos, won by about 63,000 to 61,500 votes. The second district of Paris, although it includes the financial and business heart of the city, is a working-class residence section. It would be as unwise to predict a radical rising in France on the basis of this election as a conservative tendency because of Tardieu's victory. It does seem, though, as Ida Treat points out in an article on page 362 of this issue, that voters are edging over either toward the extreme Right or the far Left. In this connection may be noted the recent change in the editorial policy of the weekly *Clarté*.

CLARTÉ HAS TURNED to the left. After a stormy and precarious career as a liberal pacifist weekly it has espoused the cause of the French Communists and has changed its title to *La Guerre Civile*. The history of this magazine is in many ways a narrative of conditions in post-war Europe, and the new turn in its life is significant of the difficulty of a midway position in French intellectual life. *Clarté* was founded in 1919 and during its early months was regarded as one of the few rays of light and tolerance issuing from France. Its direction was attributed chiefly to Henri Barbusse, but if we are to accept the story as set forth in the December-January issue by Marcel Fourrier, Barbusse ceased to be interested in the magazine when he found it impossible to use it as an organ of the international intellectual groups that he was trying to organize. Latterly *Clarté* has found it harder and harder to live or find a place for itself. Just as in politics sentiment in France seems to be swinging away from the Center and toward the Right or the Left, so in journalism; and *Clarté*, founded to preach pacifism, has become a propagandist for Moscow and direct action.

THE SIDE-SHOW at Chieti has ended with an appropriate climax in the sentence of the five Fascists accused of murdering Matteotti. Two of the men were acquitted. The other three, including Dumini, the leader of the kidnapping party, were convicted of murder—qualified as "unintentional"—and sentenced to something less

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than six years' imprisonment. This sentence was thereupon pared down by some manner of judicial mathematics, involving the time spent in jail awaiting trial, with the result that the men convicted of murder will serve seventy days. The Government has admittedly won a victory, although the cheering of the spectators when the sentence was pronounced was promptly silenced by the president of the court. His instructions evidently were to keep politics out of the trial, but Deputy Farinacci, the Fascist secretary who acted as chief counsel for the defense, used the prisoners' devotion and Matteotti's opposition to Fascism for all those irrelevant but powerful arguments were worth. The result was an expert piece of tampering with the machinery of justice whose only flaw is its obviousness to the entire world.

MUCH HAS BEEN MADE in the daily press of Ivy L. Lee's sending out of letters favoring the recognition of Soviet Russia because he directed those letters to prominent men of the type of Elihu Root and because he happens to be the publicity representative of the Standard Oil Company, the Rockefellers personally, and the Pennsylvania Railroad. Those who have opposed the recognition of Russia warn us once more against changing our present policy, while those in favor seem to see in Mr. Lee's interest in the question proof that big business now desires diplomatic relations with the Soviets. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lee says he made the inquiries on his own account and represented none of his clients in so doing. Even so, his action is noteworthy. He is a man of affairs, closely in touch with the biggest business enterprises in the country. That he should feel himself free to ask men of prominence whether the time has not come to recognize Moscow is in itself encouraging. He wishes to know why America cannot do what all the other great countries of the earth have done and whether, since it will eventually be necessary to take this action, it would not be wise to do it now. The Russian Government is the most stable in Europe today. It has given the lie to the semi-official utterances made public when Mr. Hughes was Secretary of State to the effect that the government was tottering. We do not deny that the question of propaganda is a difficult one, and that the Russians have no hesitation in utilizing a foreign embassy for proselyting. The question is whether we have faith in the soundness of our institutions or not. If they can be rocked by Communistic propaganda, there must be something wrong.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER of big business is once more illustrated by the news of the formation of a group for the control of the steel-rail market of the world. The Germans are given the credit of having started this movement, and their steel overlords have been joined by those of France, England, Belgium, and Luxembourg. It is denied that the United States is to participate. A chief incentive has been the overproduction of steel rails by 30 per cent. Under the agreement, all export business is to be scientifically distributed among the participants in exact proportion to their producing capacity. French metallurgic circles are reported to be particularly happy over the arrangement on the ground that it will stabilize business and prevent cutthroat competition, especially with Germany. It is, of course, nothing new; there were steel combines and international armament trusts long before the war, and they did their share in precipitating it—for the trust was always stirring up one country to increase its navy by propaganda to show that somebody else was threatening to attack it. The managers of this combination do not want people to talk of a United States of Europe, nor of wiping out international boundaries and thus helping to do away with armies and navies.

IN MAY, 1923, a fine of $200 each was imposed upon the producer of the play "The God of Vengeance" and upon Rudolph Schildkraut, the chief performer. For several reasons the incident was one of the most disgraceful in the recent history of official attempts to curry favor with bumptious fanatics. The play was a moving tragedy of serious intent and gravely moral effect, the persons concerned in its production were honorably known in their profession, and they were, moreover, given no opportunity adequately to defend themselves. The text of the play was not allowed as evidence, the testimony of reputable critics who had seen the performance was declared inadmissible, and the conviction was upon evidence furnished by two detectives alone. Harry Weinberger, counsel for the defense, carried the case to the Court of Appeals, which ordered a new trial on the ground that competent evidence had been rejected. Now, nearly three years after the original conviction, the Court of General Sessions of New York has dismissed the indictment. Doubtless something has been gained, for a precedent has been established against basing such trials upon the testimony of police officers only and ruling out other evidence, but it must be remembered that in this as in previous cases the vindicated defendants have suffered grave financial and other damages. Incidentally we hope that the group of producers, including Arthur Hopkins, William Harris, Jr., Daniel Frohman, and Lee Shubert, who expressed publicly their approval of the conviction, are properly ashamed of themselves.

THE CREATION of the American Professional Football League may be welcomed from other viewpoints than those of its proponents. Their undertaking is perhaps in itself nothing more than any other intelligent business enterprise which endeavors to supply a popular commodity to sections of the public hitherto debarred from it. But the indirect influence upon conditions in our colleges and universities is an important consideration. College football has been an academic scandal for the last two decades, absorbing the time and interest of the student body to the detriment of intellectual pursuits, developing an unhealthy spirit of competition and vulgar advertising, and leading in almost every institution to disguised professionalism with its attendant evils of venality, hypocrisy, and lying. If the new league prospers and maintains its program of not permitting college students upon its teams, certain changes would seem to be inevitable. Those youths gifted in the ways of football but apparently devoid of other talent who now go to college as the only means of attaining their athletic aim may henceforward be largely drawn into the more tempting and profitable professional field. College football would then slowly but surely decline into the relatively innocuous position of college baseball. In the distance one may dimly discern a future in which the football coach will no longer be more respected than the university president or the most eminent members of his faculty. The colleges may yet be saved for educational purposes through the efficacy of the American Professional Football League.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our War Claims Against Britain

IT is becoming daily more clear that the United States made untold sacrifices in entering the European War. Our intervention made possible not only the abandonment of American political traditions of a century and of the most distinctive contributions of the United States to the development of international law and relations but by enabling other countries to write the Treaty of Versailles it has plunged Europe into a chaos from which there seems little sign of rescue. The latest evidence of the truth of this conclusion is the attitude of the British press toward Senator Borah's resolution to bring about the adjudication of the claims against Great Britain and France, based on the serious violations of international law and of neutral rights committed during the period between August, 1914, and April, 1917.

For generations we had stood as the traditional defender of neutral rights against the unlimited violence and illegality of belligerents. We had officially justified our intervention in the war on the theory that our claims against Germany were of a nature which required immediate vindication by force of arms, whereas our claims against the Allies, being of a pecuniary nature, would tolerate delay in settlement until the end of the war. Such a settlement was expressly promised by Secretary Lansing in justification of our entry into the war against one belligerent as against the other in defense of American neutral rights.*

But the British press is wrong in believing that the demand for the settlement of our claims, growing out of a violation of international law and American neutral rights, is a hostile act. Senator Borah, who has demonstrated his desire for the promotion of reason against force on many occasions, merely seeks, we take it, to restore to a chaotic world the reign of law in international relations, and no Englishman or American interested in the substitution of law for force should object to the submission of these claims to the determination of an international court, to be decided according to the rules of international law. To be consistent and logical, we Americans must also submit to such adjudication the claims of any neutral who may have suffered through our own adoption of the illegal measures by which the Allies conducted their blockade against neutral and enemy countries alike.

It will be recalled that during the war the United States, with ample justification in law and precedent, charged England with unlawfully enlarging the lists of contraband, until everything usable by a human being was therein included; with making foodstuffs contraband early in the war, notwithstanding the practically uniform view of England herself, expressed most forcibly by Lord Salisbury, that foodstuffs could be considered contraband only if they were actually and demonstrably destined for the enemy's forces; with seizing and detaining our ships and allowing them to traverse the seas by British permission only, instead of being visited and searched on the high seas, as international law demanded; with gross abuse of the doctrine of continuous voyage by stopping non-contraband, as well as other cargoes, destined to neutral ports, a shipment which was legally privileged; with issuing Orders in Council binding on British prize courts which condemned our ships under a perversion of all previously recognized rules of international law; with instituting so-called measures of blockade, characterized by Sir Samuel Evans as "a journalistic blockade," which were denounced by our Government as "illegal and indefensible"—at which time also it was announced that the United States would devote the energies of America to the vindication of neutral rights; with the abuse of the American neutral flag by its unauthorized use on British vessels; with stopping the American mails and confiscating them from ships illegally detained; with instituting a blacklist, which was more energetically denounced by the British colonies than by the United States.

Great Britain and France were able to stall off vigorous action by the United States because of many different considerations; among others may be mentioned Ambassador Page's efforts, a preposterous propaganda as to the holiness of the Allied cause and the unholiness of the cause of the Central Powers, the alleged atrocities of the Central Powers, and numerous other efforts, until the United States was gradually browbeaten into a temporary tolerance of the British practices against the reservation of our future right to claim indemnities. Germany protested that we were not impartial in the enforcement of neutral rights, and that while we tolerated British violations, which compelled Germany to exert reprisals, we held Germany to the strict letter of the law, although never before had it been held applicable to a new instrument like submarines. Lansing's reply that our tolerance of British violations had no relation to our non-tolerance of German violations was legally, morally, and politically wrong. Finally we entered the war, a fact which the British press now asserts estops us by condonation from presenting any claims.

"You did precisely as we did after you entered the war, and therefore you cannot hold us accountable for similar acts," is the contention of the British press. If it is a correct one, then those who grossly violated international law will escape all accountability for their misdeeds—all, whether American, French, Italian, or anybody else. It is a close question we admit, but it seems to us that the law ought to be vindicated. At the same time we sincerely wish it might be done in a way that would not arouse further antagonism in Great Britain to the United States, just now again being fanned into flame by the remarks attributed to Ambassador Houghton and the statements in Parliament of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Snowden that England is condemned for generations to pay us $500,000 a day.

For the British press to refer to our Civil War precedents as a basis for the English measures is neither fair nor sound, legally or morally. Shipping Confederate uniforms and cannon to the Island of Nassau is quite different from shipping foodstuffs to countries like Denmark and Holland. Moreover, the decisions of our prize courts were submitted to international arbitration under the British-American treaty of May 8, 1871, and the decisions of our Supreme Court were reversed in six cases. We are now

* Colonel House wrote to Woodrow Wilson on July 17, 1915 (Vol. II, p. 22, of his "Papers"): "Sight is lost of the fact that England will be called to an accounting for any infringement of our property rights at sea, as soon as Germany has been reckoned with for the more serious offense of killing Americans and other non-combatants."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asking of Britain only what we were then willing to concede.

At the same time we have no desire to see this country actually demand any payments from Great Britain for claims decided in our favor. We think the cases ought to be adjudicated in the interest of the maintenance and development of international law, but we would not press Great Britain for a penny beyond her present heavy debt payments. The United States Government should cancel its own claims, after adjudication; damages to private parties, if paid at all, should come out of our own Treasury.

Speaking of Crime—

ALL the signs are for a heavy crop in 1926 of inquiries and reports on crime. Most of them, we fear, will be futile and some will be definitely mischievous. That there has been an unfortunate increase in crime in this country in recent years—especially of robbery and burglary—is too evident to demand statistical demonstration. Precisely for this reason popular passions have been moved, old prejudices have been invoked, and a good deal of primeval savagery has been revived in the effort to cope with the problems presented.

The subject is certainly worthy of inquiry and report, but such effort needs to be technical and limited in order not to do more harm than good. We can see no possible advantage, for instance, in investigations into "the cause of crime." Crime is an artificially determined thing, varying in different ages and countries; its essence, and still more its causes, are matters of opinion rather than of fact. In an argument on the cause of crime one person will blame the World War and another Soviet Russia; one will find against capitalist exploitation and another against radical propaganda; one will pillory the "foreign element" and another the lack of parental care. It is possible to make a hundred guesses and two hundred recommendations, but none of them is likely to get us anywhere.

Almost as futile as inquiries into "the cause of crime" are proposals of new laws to deal with it. Existing criminal law is not perfect, but it has worked tolerably well in the past and probably can be made to work now if properly administered. Administration, indeed, seems to be the hopeful point of attack at the present time. More efficient police work, and surer, quicker, less complicated justice in our courts—those seem to be the directions which our inquiries and reports ought to take. Indeed the report of such an inquiry has just been laid before the New York Legislature. While not agreeing with all the recommendations made, we regard the report as a good instance of practical recommendations within a specific and limited field. Instead of pious resolutions in favor of better education and more home care, the committee makes various suggestions for the simplification of court procedure, which is admittedly too complicated and time-consuming. Among other things it proposes the abolition of the rule that the fact that a defendant does not take the stand cannot be used against him. This would be a drastic change in our methods, but it is in line with common sense and with European practice.

One of the dangers of the present passion to "do something about crime" is that we may injure the parole system which is one of the few constructive and civilized steps that have been taken in recent years. Doubtless here again there are opportunities for improved administration, but it would be a tragedy if the popular outcry for harsher measures against criminals should set back the general principle of parole instead of imprisonment where at all practicable. So far as we have any evidence, harsh punishments rarely deter men from crime and still more rarely prove a cure to the criminal. And just as there is danger to the parole system in the present outcry to "do something about crime," so there is to the movement against capital punishment which has been making slow headway for many years. As a matter of fact, the general abolition of the death penalty would be one of the best means of getting rid of many of our most scandalous instances of delayed and thwarted justice. The truth is that few civilized men any longer believe in the death penalty even though they say and sincerely think that they do. There is an actual hesitation in the minds of jurymen which leads them to quibble and evade in the face of evidence that would be sufficient in other circumstances, while a similar attitude on the part of the public at large leads it to tolerate an amount of hocus-pocus in murder trials which it would not permit if there were no death penalty in the background.

If the agitation over the crime wave leads us back to the Middle Ages in a desire for what we call "punishment," it will be a calamity and a stop to progress. Only as we conceive of the criminal as an abnormal and unfortunate human being, and treat him as such, can we regard ourselves as even on the road to eliminating him.

Franz Kneisel

A GREAT musician, to whom musical America owes a permanent debt of gratitude, died in New York on March 26. Franz Kneisel became concert-master of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1885 when only twenty years of age. He had a career as a soloist before him, but the formation of a string quartet with him as first violin gradually led him into the path in which he attained the greatest heights ever reached in this country or in Europe. By 1903 he resigned from the orchestra to devote all his time to his quartet. He and his associates were doubtful whether they could obtain sufficient popular support to earn a comfortable living. Take the plunge they did, however, with all that it implied of endless labor, hard and trying travel, and the slow building up of an understanding clientele in one city after another.

Never have artists taken their work more seriously nor set themselves higher ideals. They knew that there were almost no existing standards by which their achievements could be judged; that only a few Americans were familiar with European attainments in the chamber-music field. Yet they aimed for the goal of perfection. All summer long, while others rested, they rehearsed, rehearsed, rehearsed. In winter drills were interrupted only by giving lessons to eke out slender incomes and by their concerts. Kneisel was a master of style and detail; he seemed never to be satisfied. Sometimes they rehearsed a piece for three or four years, then let it lie for a couple of years before they began to rehearse for a year again before finally producing it.

Their reward came, for they trained their audiences as they trained themselves; the elite of the music world

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attended their recitals. The quartet changed as the years passed, but the backbone, Kneisel, and his superb lieutenant, Louis Svecenski, remained. When it went abroad the critics ranked the quartet with those of Joachim and Hellmesberger, with the Bohemian and the Brussels players. Paris thrilled to them; so did London and Berlin. By that time the American critics usually wrote that the Kneisels had played the night before "in their inimitable style which is beyond criticism."

In all of this Franz Kneisel was the inspiring genius. Eminently fitted to be an interpreter of the old masters, he lacked, if anything, only the fiery passion of the Hungarian or the Spaniard. A born teacher, his pupils felt it a privilege to work for him; his associates yielded his preeminence as a matter of course. Always he was modesty itself. No great man ever blew his trumpet less, or less consciously sought public approval. One day out of a clear sky he announced the end of the quartet. Indignant friends compelled him to go on by demonstrations of affection, their display of loyalty, their estimates of his achievements—but not for long. In 1917 he stopped in the fulness of his powers; no one was able to say that his skill had begun to weaken or age to tell. So he returned to his old love, teaching, as the preeminent head of the instrumental department of the Institute of Musical Art. Today innumerable pupils cherish his memory and agree with Frank Damrosch that here is one man whose place cannot be filled. That Franz Kneisel lifted the entire level of musical taste in this country by his unselfish and devoted exposition of one of the noblest forms of musical art no one can question.

The White House Fraud

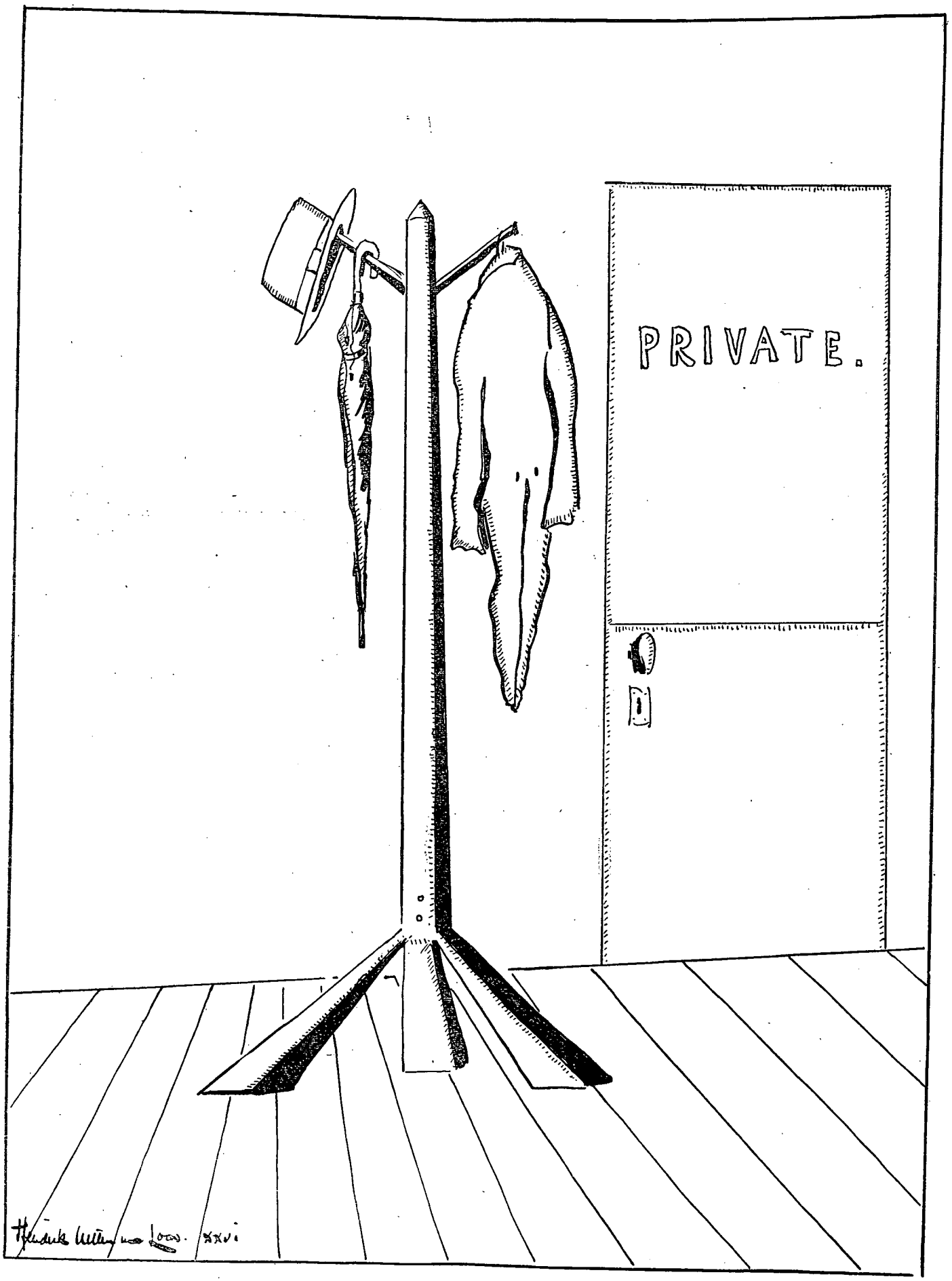
WE refer, of course, to President Coolidge's habit of meeting the Washington newspapermen twice a week and answering their questions, while compelling the correspondents not to quote his replies to their questions but to refer to him only as "the White House spokesman." Our objections to this procedure are many. It is unmanly and undignified for the President of the United States to hide behind a camouflage which everybody in journalistic and official circles and multitudes outside know to be the flimsy disguise it is. It is bad for the President because it enables him to take a position and then to lie out of it, just as Mr. Coolidge did in the case of Ambassador Jusserand's comments upon the French debt situation. In the morning Mr. Coolidge as "the White House spokesman" severely criticized the Ambassador; in the afternoon he disavowed the statements made by that fictitious person, declaring that he had not made them. The stenographic reports showing that he had, two correspondents, Arthur Sinnott of the Newark *Evening News* and Henry Suydam of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, defended their honor as reporters by telling the facts and quoting the official record against Mr. Coolidge, since which time the minutes are no longer accessible to newspapermen. Finally, it is unworthy of a President to make any statements for which he is not willing to take full and open responsibility.

This bad custom has now come to the front again because of the furore created on both sides of the Atlantic by the pessimistic statements as to conditions in Europe recently credited to Ambassador Houghton. Senator Reed of Missouri took this occasion to denounce the absurd and unethical "White House spokesman" practice which, as we have said, now deceives no intelligent and informed reader. The facts seem to be that Ambassador Houghton, who, as Charles Michelson points out in the New York *World*, is an experienced diplomat not accustomed to rash statements, did meet the Washington reporters. There can be no question, therefore, that this interview was undertaken with the full knowledge and consent of both the President and the Secretary of State. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that Mr. Houghton was told by those officials just what to say and how vigorously to say it. It is an open secret in Washington that when the Ambassador went to London he carried with him the authority of some high personages to keep his public speaking in England within limits. It is, therefore, all the more inconceivable that Mr. Houghton could have been so blunt and forthright of his own motion. If proof were needed of this it would lie in the fact that his statements have not been expressly disavowed by the White House. It may be, of course, that the reporters exaggerated in their interpretation of Mr. Houghton's statements, but that is hardly likely, since he faced fifty of the most experienced correspondents in the country.

Now we do not, like some others, look upon this as proof of a foul conspiracy to take us out of the disarmament conference and to sabotage the League. The League is sabotaging itself rapidly enough and the disarmament conference is teetering so as to make more than questionable the good that it may be able to accomplish. As for the facts set forth by Mr. Houghton, black as they are, they seem to us well within the truth; we have been consistently saying the same thing in *The Nation* and fortifying our opinions with facts and documents. Even the British press, on second thought, has conceded the general correctness of the Ambassador's views so far as the rest of Europe is concerned. What has hurt them is his alleged statement that the only purpose of the Allied Powers in getting us into the disarmament conference or the League is to exploit us. It is, of course, quite possible that the bluntness of the remarks credited to him will make the Ambassador's position in London uncomfortable, but if that proves to be the case the responsibility is surely not his.

We sincerely hope that it will prove to be, as some of the daily press declare, a tempest in a teapot; that will make it possible for him to resume his position and to be as useful as heretofore. What is vital, however, is this question of official approach to the press. When such statements are made, and the official making the utterances does not personally vouch for them, that procedure is, in our judgment, open to the charge of being government propaganda hidden under a cloak. We know enough about Ambassador Houghton to believe that he would very much prefer to put his name to any statement that he makes and to assume the consequences thereof. That ought to be the rule for all such communications, whether from the President or from the least important official in Washington whose interviews the press will carry. The present custom is not only disgraceful to the Executive; it also reflects upon the newspaper profession. The editors and owners of the great dailies ought to unite in refusing to take these communiqués when accredited to some supposedly unknown spokesman. A dozen of the leading newspapers by seceding from the President's conferences could break up this iniquitous practice in a week.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The White House Spokesman

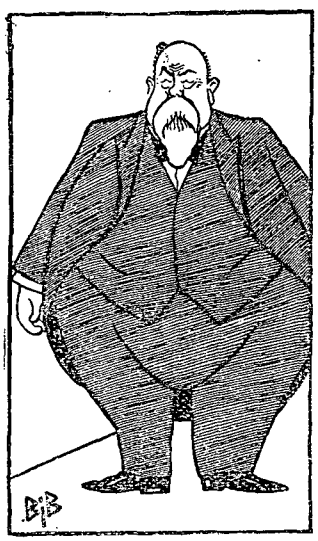
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris Styles in Shirts

By IDA TREAT

Paris, March 1

THE present season takes a traditional interest in haberdashery. A very special interest, now that political opinions no longer find their expression in a flower or a flag but are worn literally next the skin. 1789 contented itself with a cap—breeches or their absence being after all merely a figure of speech. The Bolshevik wore a leather jacket, when he could get one. And in Western Europe today the political shirt is a symbol and a slogan.



From *l'Ere nouvelle* (Paris)

Senator Henry Chéron

France goes in for colors. Black is discarded. Even the reactionary Right has somewhat tempered its enthusiasm for Mussolini since the declaration of the *Impero*. Then, too, black is still too suggestive of the Internationale Noire for a country at bottom profoundly anticlerical. Fascism—the French brand—has adopted horizon-blue, "color of victory." Blue shirts and red. The red are less openly in evidence. To be sure, scarlet bands of Italian exiles occasionally enliven Communist meetings with the strains of "Bandiera Rossa"; and on Thursdays and Sundays files of crimson-clad *pupilles* march through the streets of the "red" suburbs, piping a lusty:

> Rev-o-lu-tion . . . pour que la terre
> Soit un séjour . . . é-ga-li-taire!

But such demonstrations are local and sporadic. Whereas the blue shirts of the Fascists, less discreet, may be bought at any counter.

"Fascism or Communism, *il faut choisir!*" proclaims the *Liberté*. "Communism or Fascism, *tout est là!*" declaim the Communists in the Chamber. Both agree that it is time for the reign of "terrible old men" to come to an end. The graybeards and their methods have gone bankrupt. Today the young must take a hand.

From every direction comes the evidence that young France is thinking politically. Not since 1920 has there been such effervescence. French political organizations spring up overnight; old groups and new have launched forth in intense recruiting campaigns. The young intellectuals set the pace. Beginning at the extreme Right, we find the monarchists particularly active—grouped about the old leaders, Daudet, Maurras, and Bainville, with their daily, *l'Action Française*, the Camelots du Roy, faithful to the tradition of dictator—and—king. Next comes the newly founded Faisceau with Georges Valois, "renegade" Camelot, and Philippe Barrès, son of Maurice Barrès. These are the real blue-shirts. Rumor has it that they are financed by petroleum millions. In any event, they have founded a daily paper, the *Nouveau Siècle*, and are flooding the country with posters and tracts. With them march the chiefs of the literary movement that was "young" ten years ago. Jean Cocteau, elderly adolescent, is said to have renounced temporarily the white frock of the Dominicans for a militant blue shirt. Close allies of the Faisceau, the Jeunesses Patriotes—organized during the days that followed the transfer of the ashes of Jaurès to the Panthéon—claim today sixty thousand members. They, too, have their organ, *Le National*, and demand a "dictatorship of order, over and above a parliamentarism that is powerless and rotten." The Jeunesses Catholiques reflect the spirit of the day. They have launched a widespread campaign against "liberalism," source of all evils, and have set out to "reconquer France from the hands of the pagans." All these groups have a pseudo-military formation—with centuries, sections, brigades, or the like; with officers, discipline, and—according to rumor and with probably some truth—arms.

On the other side of the barricade, equal activity. The Center—Ligue des Jeunes Républicains, Ligue des Etudiants Anti-Fascistes, and others—is less buoyantly aggressive. Theirs is a policy of defense—defense of the democracy. They have taken their cue from the Government. Then come the red shirts. The Super-Realists, representing a young literature of the day, have come out strong for revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. With Aragon, Breton, and Soupault in the lead, they have swept the old Clarté group overboard and have founded in place of the review *Clarté* a new organ with the suggestive title *La Guerre Civile*.

Red shirts and blue. The conflict is still in the initial stage, noisily verbal, to the tune of articles, speeches, posters, and tracts. As for the Government, the official attitude is that neither Fascism nor Communism is yet to be taken seriously. The government of the Bloc des Gauches has recovered from its moment of panic when the Painlevé Ministry fell. Its representatives point with irony to the burlesque battles between leaders of the Faisceau and the *Action Française*—turbulent but bloodless conflicts between blue shirts and Camelots du Roy. They insist that the *National* and the *Nouveau Siècle* have already cost millions, and that both organs are read by their adversaries alone. They assert that Fascism in France has neither leaders nor troops. As for the red shirts, they maintain that the Communist Party has lost half its members during the past year, and that the C. G. T. U., the revolutionary unions, are everywhere dwindling. As for the army, Communists claim that nine-tenths of the officers are openly Fascist. Fascists pretend that the ranks are permeated with red propaganda.

From *l'Ere nouvelle* (Paris)

M. André Tardieu, representing the Right

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the face of both assertions the Government shakes an incredulous head. The Minister of War in the former Painlevé Ministry is currently supposed to have lost his portfolio because he took one of those same assertions—with respect to the military government of Paris—too seriously. In the Chamber the interpellations on the spread of Fascism in France have been postponed *sine die*.

However, there is another aspect to the question. The actual organization of Fascism is one thing, the spirit of Fascism another. And there can be no doubt that the spirit—the demand for drastic action and for swift and categoric solutions—is abroad in the land. This is true among the very men who last May carried the Bloc des Gauches to power. For with respect to shirts, the vast and solid petty middle class of France—the *petits rentiers*, the *petits commerçants*, the thousands of state employees and functionaries—are face to face with the prospect of soon having no shirt at all. Prices soar, the franc drops, taxes increase, incomes diminish, and salaries remain stationary. The 3 per cent government bond has dropped from one hundred francs gold in 1914 to 49.40 paper today. The 5 per cent war bonds have followed the same descending curve. A few weeks ago saw the manifestation in the Place de la Concorde of state employees—that usually docile class—for higher salaries and the sliding scale of wages. The threatened tax-on-payments has stirred the wrath of wholesale dealers and middlemen. There is talk of a tax-strike. Then, too, there is that unpopular war in Morocco and Syria.

The attitude of the middle-class Frenchman toward that old pet of his—the Parliament—is particularly symptomatic. France, that most parliamentary of countries, is rapidly turning anti-parliamentarian. The confusion of the recent financial discussion at the Chamber—the conflict between the Government and the financial commission—has created a painful impression among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Bloc des Gauches. They no longer quote with delight the *bons mots* of their favorite leaders. On every hand one hears complaints and criticism. Even Briand comes in for his share. That consummate virtuoso of politics, they say, is failing, is no longer equal to the task. Again and again one hears the same reflection: if Parliament is powerless to arrive at a solution of the financial crisis, then it is time for a dictator! The name of the old Tiger—too old today to intervene—is on many a lip.

Never has the situation been more favorable for the development of extremist propaganda. While the red shirts gain in popularity with the masses, the middle class, still hostile to the idea of revolution, drifts more easily toward Fascism. And organized Fascism has been quick to take advantage of the situation. It has adopted nearly all the slogans of the Left—anti-parliamentarism, anti-taxes, salary-in-gold, etc.

"We speak particularly to the workers, the employees, the technicians, the functionaries, the combatants," reads one of the tracts edited by the Faisceau. "We engage the battle, openly, boldly against the bourgeois—radical, liberal, conservative—who tremble before the politicians and the international financial interests. We invite all who produce to join our ranks." "It is not to be tolerated," continues another, "that the prosperity of a few should be built on the misery of those who possess less and who labor more." Or again: "The first thing to accomplish is the protection of the worker. Those who make up the hard-working masses must not be condemned to labor forever without a guaranty for their savings."

Fascism has set out to conquer the middle classes. Its chances of success, given the restlessness and discontent of the country at large, are perhaps greater than the Government—officially at least—seems to anticipate. So that, to return to the question of haberdashery, there seem many reasons to prognosticate that horizon-blue will be increasingly worn this summer and that clothes in general will have a certain military cut.

Briand's Failure

By ROBERT DELL

Paris, March 12

BRIAND has just repeated the operation that he performed in November, 1910—that of resigning to get rid of one or two embarrassing colleagues and returning to office with a patched-up Cabinet. His reconstructed Government of 1910 lasted just four months and most people in Paris think that the present reconstruction will not have a longer life, but political prophecy is exceptionally dangerous in France. For my part I am content to say that, however long the new Government may last, its formation only makes the political confusion worse confounded and gives no hope of a solution of the financial problem.

I have never shared the opinion now so general in Europe that Briand is a great statesman. He is an extremely wily and astute diplomatist, but that is another matter. His conception of parliamentary strategy has always been to throw all the parties into confusion and play them off against one another in the hope of getting a scratch majority now of one combination, now of another, and he has always paid more attention to parliamentary manipulation than to the real solution of political problems. Having no definite political principles and very little principle of any kind, he pursues a hand-to-mouth policy and, when one line of policy fails, he tries another, perhaps the opposite. In this and his disregard for anything but the immediate future he resembles Lloyd George.

Lucien Romier, the editor of the *Figaro*, who is one of the most objective French journalists, said with truth yesterday that a Briand Cabinet is never anything but a Briand Cabinet, that is to say, it has no definite political tendency. It is constructed on the policy of including representatives of as many groups as possible, without any regard to their respective capacities for the posts that they occupy. This system embarrasses all the groups, which shrink from opposing a Government including their own members and dislike the inclusion of the others. It is, in fact, as Romier said, a system of "hostages." Never perhaps has Briand shown so cynical a disregard of the public welfare as on this occasion. The outstanding issue in internal politics is the financial question, and the new Gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment includes Malvy and Lamoureux, who have been until now respectively president and "reporter" of the Finance Committee of the Chamber. One would naturally suppose that one of them would have become Minister of Finance. Malvy, it is true, has not shown any particular capacity in financial matters, but Lamoureux has. Briand, however, merely to placate the Center and the Right, chooses as Minister of Finance Raoul Péret, formerly president of the Chamber, who has no qualifications at all for the post. Even the *Temps*, which disagrees with Lamoureux on financial policy, is surprised at the choice.

During Briand's premiership from July, 1909, to March, 1911, he completed the work that his predecessor as Prime Minister, Clemenceau, had begun—that of dividing the forces of the Left and breaking up the Radical Party. But whereas Clemenceau had begun it unintentionally by his authoritative temper and dictatorial methods, Briand completed it intentionally on the principle already mentioned. He has now once more broken up the Radical Party and undermined its discipline. Malvy and Lamoureux, both Radicals, have accepted office in the reconstructed Cabinet without consulting their party, which has tolerated their lack of discipline. From any point of view this is to be regretted, for what France needs is a genuine party system, which can be based only on party discipline. Once more Briand has shown himself to be a factor of confusion in politics.

Of course Briand on this occasion was thinking more of foreign than of domestic policy. His one aim was to get back to Geneva as soon as possible. He would have preferred to return there simply as Foreign Minister, but nobody else was eager to form a government and Herriot, when asked, very wisely declined. Briand had made a grave miscalculation when he prolonged the financial debates by dilatory methods so that the crucial question of the tax on payments came up only on the eve of the session of the League of Nations. He undoubtedly thought that the Chamber would not dare to precipitate a ministerial crisis in the circumstances. He was mistaken and the mistake put him in an awkward position. He then had to choose between abandoning Geneva and patching up any sort of government at the shortest possible notice.

It is primarily Briand's own fault that there was a ministerial crisis. The Chamber has been blamed for its impotence in financial matters, but Briand is far more to blame. What parliament in the world could be expected to produce a budget when the government had no definite policy and left members to their own devices? On financial questions even more than on any others it is the business of a government to take the initiative—to have a policy and stick to it. For some reason, Briand determined to govern with the Left, except on financial questions. Perhaps the reason was that he feared a conflict with the Senate, which would almost certainly have rejected the financial policy of the Left. Yet that policy was the right one. Both Maynard Keynes and Lucien Romier—editor of a paper of the Right—have agreed that no new taxation is needed in France and that all that is necessary is to reform the assessment and collection of the income tax, which ought to yield at its existing rates five or six times as much as it yields at present. Briand appointed in succession two finance ministers—Loucheur and Doumer—who refused to accept the policy of the Left. To conciliate Doumer, the Radicals and Socialists consented to vote additional indirect taxation to meet immediate necessities. Doumer, however, would not hear of a compulsory declaration, which alone will make the income tax a reality, and made it plain that he did not wish to make the income tax a reality. He opposed most of the proposals of the Finance Committee of the Chamber, but Briand would not allow him to pledge the Government to stand or fall by its own proposals. The Chamber, left to its own devices, rejected most of the chief proposals both of the Government and the Finance Committee, being naturally unwilling to incur the unpopularity involved in voting new taxation when the Government refused to take the responsibility. Briand's calculation was that the Senate would restore the government proposals, including the unpopular tax on payments, and that he would then be able to force them through the Chamber with the help of the Right on the eve of the Geneva meeting. Naturally, the Right refused to save him from his own supporters and joined with the Socialists, Communists, and a minority of the Radicals against the tax on payments. The latter, by the way, was a most vexatious measure, involving as it did a stamp on every transaction. The protests against it of retail traders led to their exemption from it, but in its original form it would have obliged small shopkeepers and street hawkers to give an invoice with a stamp for everything they sold!

The result of Briand's too-clever-by-half tactics is that after weeks wasted on discussion France is still without a budget and the financial problem as far from solution as ever. Péret is not likely to solve it. He apparently proposes to return to the system of veiled inflation to which Caillaux vainly tried to put a stop. The law that Caillaux got passed, preventing any addition to the amount of national-defense bonds, has long since been repealed and now Péret is appealing to the French public to subscribe to as many of these bonds as possible. They are, it will be remembered, repayable in one, three, six, or twelve months, at the option of the purchaser, and the great majority of them are at one or three months. Naturally, since they bear interest, business men prefer them to depreciating bank-notes and they are habitually used as currency. They are issued in unlimited quantities, according to the demand, so that the Treasury has no control over their amount and, as they are indefinitely renewable, never knows how many will be renewed or presented for repayment at any moment. It is amazing that any Finance Minister should propose to continue this system after the experience of the last two years. At any moment the banks and other larger holders of national-defense bonds can have the Government at their mercy by suddenly refusing to renew the bonds or threatening to refuse. It was a concerted movement of this kind that brought the Herriot Government down, after it had falsified the accounts of the Bank of France and borrowed from the bank in excess of the legal limit to repay the national-defense bonds presented.

Of the stabilization of the franc Péret says not a word. On the contrary, he is convinced that all will be well if the budget is balanced. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the budget can never be balanced until the franc is stabilized. Of the seven finance ministers that France has had during the last twelve months he is without any doubt the most incompetent. His appointment is another example of the levity with which Briand has treated the financial question since he became Prime Min-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ister. It is not surprising that Caillaux declined the offer of the Ministry of Finance in the reconstructed Cabinet. He at least takes financial questions seriously. It will no doubt eventually be necessary to return to him and he will be able then to make his own terms. I shall not be surprised if he is the next Prime Minister.

Although, as I have said, Briand is a diplomatist of exceptional astuteness, it cannot be said that he has been more successful in foreign than in domestic policy. He is primarily responsible for the present scandal at Geneva, which is making the League of Nations a laughing-stock. The guileless Austen Chamberlain has also a great responsibility. Again Briand has been too clever by half. He hoped, when he signed the Treaty of Locarno, to nullify it in fact by packing the Council with French satellites. He thought that, if the consent of England could be obtained, that would be enough, and Chamberlain undoubtedly led him to believe that England would consent. Indeed, but for the almost unanimous outburst of English public opinion against the Franco-Polish intrigue, Chamberlain would probably have had his way with his Government. Briand reckoned without the firm stand of Germany and Sweden, which has checkmated him. Nevertheless the fact remains that he was prepared to ruin the League of Nations to further imaginary French interests and that he, like his predecessors at the Quai d'Orsay, fails to recognize that the real interest of France is loyal and whole-hearted cooperation with England and Germany.

The Pullman Peon

A Study in Industrial Race Exploitation

By BENJAMIN STOLBERG

THE Pullman Company does not furnish transportation. Your railroad ticket pays your fare. Your Pullman ticket pays for two things only, for rent and service. The Pullman Company is a rapid-transit hotel organization. It rents seats and cots; also cabins and private cars. It provides a smoker and a public washroom. It serves no food. All the tricks which in the last decade have transmogrified the stationary hotel into an artificial community cannot be sold under locomotion. In their stead the Pullman Company offers the vigilant and artful service of the colored porter. Porter, house-man, janitor, and valet, he is the genius of the gentle art of travelers' comfort. He is chosen with great care, for his skill is all the Pullman Company sells. But for his skill you would save the rent—in the day coach.

The company has a patent monopoly over our entire railroad system. It extends into Canada and Mexico. Its directorate is neatly interlocked with those of the principal carriers. Its conductors get $100 a month less than train conductors. Its army of office workers is one of the worst paid in the country. The Pullman cars and the major part of their upkeep are supplied by a profitable subsidiary, the Pullman Car and Manufacturing Corporation, all of whose stock is held in the Pullman Company treasury. The public pays the company's railroad tax with each ticket. All these and many other happy factors integrate the Pullman Company into one of the best-paying hotel properties in the world. Some of its leases are, indeed, fabulous. The "Dresher," a parlor car which makes four daily one-way trips between New York and Philadelphia, is so crowded that its smoking-space is usually also rented. Its thirty-six seats bring in 75 cents a spot, four times a day. Allowing for the occasional vacancies, for the usual $934.75 for depreciation, and for the surcharge to the carrier, the "Dresher" is about 200 per cent more profitable than a suite of equal floor space at the Ritz-Carlton. Of course, the Dreshers help to raise the profits from more provincial runs.

The gross revenue of the Pullman Company during the last fiscal year was $90,318,319; from the sleeping-car service alone $83,927,749. Its net profits were $15,771,976; from the sleeping-car service alone $12,631,103. Yet President Carry tells the world that the Pullman Company makes "less than 5 per cent on a fair value of the properties." This feat in fiscal magic he achieves by omitting the dividends from the manufacturing subsidiary; by hiding in the non-itemized mazes of almost $66,000,000 for "operating expenses" exorbitant high-official salaries; and by assessing the company's properties (*among which he does not forget to list the manufacturing subsidiary*) at over $195,000,000, most of which was fertilized by constant inundation of fictitious security issues. If all the dividends paid out on water since the company's organization had been invested in a trust fund at 4 per cent compound interest, this fund would now amount to about $160,000,000, every cent of which was paid out at the expense of the sleeping public and at an unconscionable wage exploitation. Such a trust fund would now yield in annual increments from interests and dividends enough to cut Pullman charges by 10 per cent at *twice* its present pay roll.

On the board of directors, which controls the stock, are represented the House of Morgan; the financial, industrial, public utility, and insurance interests which cluster about the First National Bank of New York and the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank; and the Marshall Field, Vanderbilt, and Pullman families. The board consists of twelve directors, among whom are Messrs. J. P. Morgan, George F. Baker Senior and Junior, Harold S. Vanderbilt, John J. Mitchell, and Robert T. Lincoln, son of the Great Emancipator by birth but representative of the Pullman family by marriage.

These twelve apostles of the Pullman Service are anxious to serve you day and night—through "George"; so vigilant is their vicarious service at a humble "less than 5 per cent" that when "George" leaves Boston on a 23-hour run to Chicago they permit themselves—in his person—only three hours sleep, if Upper No. 1 is free. Otherwise he must steal a nap in the smoker, at the mercy of your bell. When "George" takes his car from New York to Key West on a return trip of 105 hours he enjoys a total of twelve hours' sleep. During the night he must shine your shoes—with his own polish. If you have any complaints against him he is summoned for investigation—on his own time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The porter who leaves New York for Washington at 12:30 a. m., has to start converting the car into a dormitory five hours earlier. *For these five hours of preparatory time he receives no pay.* His minimum wage is 26 cents an hour. By indenturing him into this forced labor the company robs him of $1.30 on every trip; of $15.60 every month; of $187.20 annually; or of about 22 per cent of his yearly wage of $870, which is in any case $1,218 below the minimum American family budget as computed by the Federal Government. But frequently the company generously puts the porter "in charge" of the car. Then he performs the conductor's duties for an additional $10 a month. The conductor's minimum wage is $155 a month. By this device alone the company saves millions every year.

After the war the minimum and majority wage of the porter was $60 a month. The full increase granted by the War Labor Board was never paid. To meet his growing disaffection the company established the Plan of Employee Representation, over and above the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association. The plan called for a "conference" for March, 1924. The conference conferred essentially the present work rules. It raised the minimum wage, affecting over 60 per cent of the men, to $67.50 a month. The rest of the scale was graduated up to $77.50 for those over fifteen years in the service. This scale once more exploited the popular fiction that the porter enjoys a handsome revenue from tips. A crack porter on a run, which is as rare as a general's commission in the army, may earn in tips as much as $35 a month. But the mean calculable average from tips on a standard car fluctuates around $19 a month, which the porter usually has to spend on his lay-overs away from home. Besides, the company has given such wide publicity to the lump sums of its purely nominal increases to the porters in 1924 and 1926 that in each instance the customary tip has materially decreased.

Until last March a porter had to cover 11,000 miles a month—or almost 400 hours—before he received even the 18 cents an hour which he now gets for delayed arrivals. Late arrivals really only shorten his rest, for he must make his next train in time. He is always subject to the sudden curse of "doubling" (taking on a special run), which cheats him of his lay-over and usually throws him out of his regular route at a final wage loss. In fact, the regulations about delayed arrivals, lay-overs, doubling, mileage computations, and seniority rights (which mere transfer invalidates) are so full of petty jokers that neither intensity nor length of service bears a really fixed relation either to pay or status. The brutal fact is that the Pullman Company exploits the *race* of the porter. The relative position of the white Pullman conductor and the sinister game in race prejudice with which the company is fighting the union movement of the porters amply prove this charge.

II

On June 25, 1925, three porters of long and faithful service, Roy Lancaster, A. L. Totten, and W. H. Des Verney, invited A. Philip Randolph, the editor of the *Messenger*, to talk things over. These four men formed there and then the nucleus of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Its prime aim is company recognition. Its formulated demands are for pathetically humble improvements in wages and conditions.

Randolph was chosen as the leader. He is beyond the direct vengeance of the company. He has advocated for many years the organization of colored labor. The *Messenger* was a ready means as an organ of expression. And Randolph has a compelling platform figure. Tall, handsome, somewhat aloof, immaculate, he has that rare gift of oratory which wins through cumulative persuasion, until there seemingly is no escape from his conclusions. Facts, figures, and conditions are built up into a limpid irrefutableness with extraordinary power to arouse bitter indignation against those whom he attacks without the slightest innuendo. And his delivery is not merely simple enough to reach the untutored mind but eloquent with an entirely implicit and shrewd thoughtfulness on the whole tragic range of race and labor. Lancaster, the secretary-treasurer of the union, is a born promoter. Happy, tireless, political, he is probably the best-known figure among the porters. Many militant yet realistic years in the service have developed his intimate knowledge of its technique into second nature. The least and latest grievance of the youngest porter in the furthest run somehow reaches him, and is immediately organized into the struggle. Together these two men form a most effective team, so effective that within seven short months they have organized a little over 5,000 of the 12,000 porters, of whom almost 4,000 are now "paid up"—secretly, of course. Totten, Des Verney, and Frank Crosswaith, the three organizers, are usually out in the field, living examples of what a complete disregard to personal danger might accomplish in organizing the unorganized.

By the fall of 1925 the Pullman counter-attack was in full swing. For subtle slander and devious corruption it is difficult to match its tactics in the annals of industrial struggle. There is no racial fear or prejudice or malice at either the white or the black end which the company has not been playing against the middle—furtively, meanly, unconscionably. Mr. James Keeley, for many years the managing editor of the Chicago *Tribune* and now the editor of the *Pullman News*, has been flooding the country with releases, imputing to the brotherhood Communist support and tendencies by all kinds of specious connections; rattling the old skeleton of "social equality" for Southern consumption; frightening the porters with the supposed negrophobia of organized labor. Colored papers, even in Jim Crow territory, began to display large ads on the luxuries of Pullman travel, with immediate results in their editorial and news columns. "Race leaders" from all over the country went to Washington, by company arrangement, to a conference on the problem of segregation only to indict this movement incidentally. Total Immersion bishops warned their flocks against it. "Loyal" Uncle Tom porters did their bit among the brethren. The service became infested with stool pigeons and frame-ups. A few Filipinos were hired as a reminder of an ample labor market. The complicated work rules began to be manipulated for the persecution of those suspected of union sympathy, though the company-union plan theoretically admits the right of union membership. Mr. Perry Howard, a colored politician from Mississippi and a Special United States Attorney General, found time to slip over on the company pay roll. More than thirty years have passed since the Pullman Company broke the great American Railway Union strike. It has forgotten nothing. And it has refined its knowledge a good deal.

Finally the company called for a conference under the Plan of Employee Representation last March. Such vir-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tual company agencies of small porters' locals as Columbus and Grand Rapids were duly "represented," while the large Pennsylvania system was not. Even so, of the eighteen delegates two refused to sign the final agreement and four signed under protest. The work rules remained practically the same. Wages were raised 8 per cent, *which amounts to just about half the interest on the company's net surplus.*

The likely abolition of the Railroad Labor Board by the Parker-Watson bill required a change of tactics by the brotherhood. Instead of looking to the Railroad Labor Board for recognition, it is looking more to the sixteen railroad unions. The A. F. of L. unions have expressed their sympathy; the train-service brotherhoods even more strongly. To what extent they will consider themselves their black brother's keeper in a crisis remains to be seen. The segregated nature of the Pullman Service removes it from the field of labor politics, and the personal popularity of "George" among the train crews is by no means a negligible factor. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is giving the union its active support. Even the National Urban League, which sublimates the old Uncle Tom psychology into "scientific" social work, is favorable. Progressive Negro leaders appreciate that this is really the first significant attempt to organize the colored worker—on a job whose very picturesqueness, popularity, and ubiquitousness render it strategic. And one may hope that such attempts may also bring home to them that it is at least as important to worry about the submerged working masses of the colored race as it is about New Negro tenors and novelists, whose genius after all speaks for itself and is now in danger of developing an intellectual class bereft of all contact or sympathy with the black worker.

That the Pullman porter, with the rest of colored labor, will have to travel the road to unionism in a chain gang—of this I have little doubt. To prophesy his easy victory against one of the worst dragons in modern industrialism is romantic. But the chances are that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will hang on. Indeed, its greatest asset is the raw deal which keeps its rank and file continuously bruised. As in the early days of the railroad brotherhoods and later in the shop crafts, it is the very desperateness of the struggle which is likely to keep the porter in a mood in which a series of defeats makes organization the more certain.

The Plight of the Farmer

By SMITH W. BROOKHART

IN the last five years more than a million farmers have become bankrupt, and the value of farm property has decreased by twenty or twenty-five billions of dollars. The value of other property in the United States has increased during the same time. Occasionally figures are published showing an increase in the return on the farms as compared with the preceding year. Such increases, however, have not been enough to cover the deficit in agriculture. Farmers have more and more gone into debt each year. The causes of this are permanent. The condition itself is permanent. These causes lie for the most part in discrimination against agriculture in the laws that have been enacted for the benefit and protection of other lines of business.

In transportation there is an enormous discrimination against agriculture. The farmer must pay freight to get his product to the market. On the other hand, when he buys things that he needs, the freight is included in their price. In 1920 the new railroad law by its machinery fixed a value in round numbers of nineteen billion dollars upon the railroads of the United States. At the time this was done the market values of all their securities, representing their entire value, was twelve billion dollars or less. The law further fixed a return on all this excessive value, first of 6 per cent and then of 5¾ per cent. At the time this was done, and during the ten-year period from 1912 to 1922, the average wealth increase of the United States was only about 5½ per cent a year; therefore this rate of return was in excess of the power of the American people to produce and far in excess of the power of the farmers to produce at the prices which they received. In addition to this discrimination in capitalization there is an enormous discrimination in the profits of the subsidiary companies in the railroads. These companies furnish coal, steel, and equipment, and whatever the railroad may need, and they charge a profit two or three times greater than the power of the American people to produce wealth. When they push these profits above the average line of 5½ per cent, something else in the great American industrial pool must be reduced below that line, and the biggest burden has fallen upon agriculture. In 1923 1,750,000 workers on the railroads and twenty billions of capital at their inflated value produced a gross return of over six and a quarter billion dollars. In the same year 11,000,000 workers and sixty billions of capital in agriculture produced a gross return of only twelve and one-third billion dollars.

In the matter of credit the laws of the United States and the States have given to a commercial banking system a monopoly of deposits and short-time loans. There are some cooperative credit unions, but the law limits their functions and makes them mere societies of thrift for the feeble, and reduces them to feeders of the commercial banking system. Over these banks is placed the great Federal Reserve which federates them all together into one system under one control. In this the farmers are forced to deposit their savings, and even in hard times these savings amount to a vast sum. The banking system never lends anything like the full amount of these savings back to the farmers. They are used to back every other form of enterprise. During the last year four billion dollars of call loans at one time were loaned to the New York Stock Exchange. A large portion of this was farmers' money sent in by banks from all over the country. The stock brokers were compelled to pay from 6 to 12 per cent for bank loans. The bulletin of the National City Bank of New York shows that the net earnings of the national banks upon their capital, surplus, and undivided profits were 8.34 per cent—and that in spite of the fact that many

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little banks in the agricultural districts failed. This is another enormous discrimination against agriculture. Long-time credits have been relieved to some extent by the Federal Land Bank, but even in that the rates are still too high.

We next find the laws of our country providing a protective tariff for many of our great industries. Such industries are allowed to fix the price of their product at the factory. This price is protected from all form of competition. In the matter of farm products there is a surplus which sells abroad. Its price is fixed in the competitive market of the world and cabled back to the marketing agencies of the United States, where the domestic price is fixed accordingly. Therefore the farmer must buy in a protected market and must sell in the competitive markets of the world. In 1923 forty billions of capital were invested in manufactures in the United States and a little less than 9,000,000 workers manned the factories, but they produced a gross product of sixty billion dollars in value. We have already seen that sixty billions of capital and 11,000,000 workers in agriculture produced only twelve and one-third billions gross value. In manufacturing it is said that thirty-four billions of these sixty billions were in raw materials. Such may be the fact, but one manufacturer's finished product is the next manufacturer's raw material and of course he sells it at a profit; therefore in this thirty-four billions were many duplications of this kind, and every time a profit was added. It is probable that there were four or five billion dollars of profits in this sum, and maybe more. Subtracting thirty-four billions and odd millions from the total production, we still have twenty-five billions —representing the increase in value of the raw material in the process of manufacture. Labor received only eleven billions of this. If we forget the profits in raw material and take the twenty-five billions as the gross product of manufacturing, it is still more than twice as much as agriculture with only two-thirds the capital and about three-fourths the number of workers. These figures prove beyond possible doubt the enormous discrimination against agriculture in favor of manufactured articles protected by the tariff and by patents.

Upon all public utilities and upon the railroads we have by law established an excessive and exorbitant rate of return. There is probably no public utility in the country that is allowed less than 6 per cent, and they run up to 8 per cent and even higher. These concerns are the most stable business enterprises in our country, and their return is the most secure. The cost of these utilities is indirectly added to the cost of production in nearly every business except agriculture. Agriculture has no power to add anything.

The laws of the States also provide for the organization of corporations. These great economic units are creatures of the law. They have no existence but for the law. Through the combination of capital these units have a great advantage. It gives them economic power to collect profits from the community, including agriculture, in excess of what they could do operating as individuals. Agriculture must pay these profits, but it has no power to increase the cost of its own product to meet this extra demand. The Adamson law protects railroad labor in a very substantial degree, and the immigration laws protect all labor in the same way.

It may be that all these discriminations are economically unsound and should be abolished, but the great employers of the country will not support such a claim. In fact, they are all defended to the utmost by financial institutions of every kind. If, however, it is proposed to do something for agriculture by extending to the farmer some of these special advantages, at once every financial interest is out with a tomahawk condemning any such suggestion as economically unsound. In the days of feudalism the farmers were bound to the soil as slaves. The first reformers who sought to break their chains were denounced as standing for something economically unsound. When humanitarians sought to correct the working conditions of labor by law, their ideas were attacked as economically unsound. A distinguished United States Senator has said that 90 per cent of the business enterprises in the United States ultimately fail. Another put the statement in the *Congressional Record* that 96 per cent of them fail. I have never seen a statement that put the estimate below 80 per cent. Does it not seem that our own competitive economic structure may itself be "economically unsound," tested by the accepted standards of soundness? So far as I am concerned the argument is useless. The farmers are entitled to a system of laws that will raise agriculture to the same artificial level as all these other great industries. The only alternative would be to wipe out the laws that have given these discriminations. We have lived on this artificial basis under law so long that to wipe them out would, I think, mean universal disaster, and I think nobody in America would seriously advocate such a proposition.* I therefore say with confidence that the farmer must be given the advantages that were long ago given to other industries and to some extent to labor.

The specific method suggested by the farmers is the organization of an export corporation with sufficient government capital, perhaps $1,500,000,000, to handle all of the exportable surplus of agriculture. Permission would be given to the cooperative organizations to subscribe stock in this corporation exactly as was done in the Federal Land Banks. When enough stock is subscribed the Government would be paid its investment as has already been done in the land banks. The corporation would be founded upon the interstate and foreign-commerce clauses of the Constitution and would be permanent in character. It would bid cost of production plus a 5 per cent profit for the average of agricultural products. The tariff would then protect the price level. The corporation would have left on its hands the surplus which averages from 8 to 12 per cent of all agricultural production. It is about half of the cotton crop and about 20 per cent of wheat, but the average is as above stated. This surplus would then be disposed of in the competitive markets of the world. One agency would handle it all. One agency would do better than many agencies, as they are now competing with each other in selling and beating down the price. There might, however, be a loss on this surplus. If so, it would be paid by a trade-dividend assessment or tax on all of the production in each product. This plan is denounced as price-fixing, but the railroad law is not only a price-fixing scheme but a value-fixing scheme as well. The tariff laws are price-fixing because they enable private concerns to fix their price at their own factories. The patent laws are a price-

* Senator Brookhart is mistaken here. Besides *The Nation* large numbers of publications and people are opposed to all privilege and favor the removal of all artificial barriers without fear of any unfavorable consequences.—Editor The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fixing scheme with no limit whatsoever. This agricultural scheme is much more sound because it limits price to cost of production and a 5 per cent profit. Nobody will deny this is just in these days of gigantic profits.

In the Driftway

"LABOR will have its reward!" one of the Drifter's associates announced joyously. "The builders and carpenters have received a voluntary increase in wages from their employers. And did you know that women linotypers receive the same wage as the men, and the wage is a fair one?" The Drifter tried to echo his friend's enthusiasm, but his mind's eye was contemplating a disturbing vision. He saw, first, rows of flying fingers swiftly setting up words in type, and then he saw other fingers pounding out those words on a typewriter, now with feverish haste, now slowly and with long, nervous pauses. The Drifter wondered which set of fingers held the robuster pay envelope at the end of the week. But it was mere perversity to wonder, for the Drifter knows—as who doesn't?—that the fingers that pound the typewriter, when they are not holding a small cold rejection slip, cling to no fat pay envelope, but a slender check. The Drifter would not be one to say that he who builds with words is worthier than he who builds with bricks. There is, of course, the immemorial argument that the artist's highest reward is the joy of creation. It is usually an artist who arrogantly makes this point, forgetting that he has the same material needs as a carpenter, and other needs less material, none of which can be filled by paying any coin but that of the realm. Nor can the most devoted teacher exist simply on the joys of teaching, contrary opinions of college trustees notwithstanding.

* * * * *

THE ailment seems to be a case of financial undernourishment, for which the carpenters and the linotypers long ago prescribed unionization. This is a simple tonic, it seems, and the recent success of the playwrights with a dose of it proves that it need not cause indigestion among the intellectual workers of the world. The Drifter would like to see a picket line led by his old professors, filing around the campus as they did in the academic procession which accompanied him on his last journey toward a scroll of parchment. He is sure they would be just as stately and dignified on a picket line. They might even wear their academic gowns, and carry signs which read, "WE WEAR OUR GOWNS BECAUSE WE CANNOT AFFORD NEW SUITS." Such a use of the academic robe would not reduce its dignity. It would be, in fact, a return to the original purpose of the gown. In the Middle Ages teaching was no more profitable a profession than it is now, and the learned doctors adopted gowns to cover their rags, and to distinguish them from their equally ragged students. The hood which in these days serves merely to display the distinctive colors of various degrees was originally dedicated to the more vital function of carrying the learned man's lunch. The Drifter sees no reason why these things should not return to their true dignity of usefulness. The medieval doctor faced the fact that he was ragged, and remedied it. His descendant seems unable to face the fact of his raggedness, or, if he does, he covers it only with a robe of pride, which must at best be a chilly thing. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Eton College—Another View

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you allow me, as an old Etonian, to make a few remarks in reply to a letter by Mr. Edgar Summerton in your paper of January 24, last, published under the heading Eton, a School for "Poor Boys."

Eton College was not founded by "some grateful native of long ago," as Mr. Summerton states, but by King Henry VI of England.

King Henry VI founded Eton College for the sons of poor clergymen and in the constitution it is clearly laid down that there shall be seventy scholars. It also states that sons of noblemen may be taught in the college, as long as they do not become a financial encumbrance upon the college and as long as they are willing and able to pay their own expenses.

I disagree with Mr. Summerton's statement that "there has never been in the school a single poor-boy inhabitant of Eton." I know of one tradesman whose son was in college during my own time at Eton, and I have a distinct recollection of his visiting his parents' place of business with the full knowledge and approval of the college authorities.

In conclusion may I refer Mr. Summerton to the admirable book entitled "Eton College, 1440-1910," by Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, K. C. B., published by Macmillan, which describes very fully the whole history of the famous school.

Geneva, February 4 ROGER M. B. MICHOLLS

The "Natives" of India

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR:

> "When a tiger kills a man it is ferocity, but when a man kills a tiger it is bravery." How funny!—G. B. S.

Will you kindly allow me to lay a protest before the "thinking" public of this country against the use of the word "natives" when referring to people of the so-called backward nations like India, Egypt, and others? Thus Professor I. B. Cross of the University of California while referring to the people of India in his book "Domestic and Foreign Exchange" calls them "the natives of India." Somehow the word "natives" has an extremely distasteful odor when applied to one of the subject nations in the British Empire. When referring to the now living people do we ever say "the natives" of America or England or Canada? I hope, therefore, that at least well-meaning Americans will not follow blindly the example of our English rulers who *have to* allude to us with the connotative word "natives" in order to justify their undemocratic rule.

Iowa City, Iowa, January 1 VISHNU V. OAK

California Geniuses

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial note on the California "child geniuses" in the issue of December 30 was not worthy of you. You might have ascertained what the idea really is, namely, to "intelligence test" some children, pick out about the top half of 1 per cent, and examine them with an eye to discovering what they are really like. We have up to this time virtually no accurate knowledge of any but physical characteristics of even average children; this experiment will be an attempt to watch the progress of children admittedly superior, although not necessarily "geniuses," and to develop these children freely and without the handicap of being educated in the midst of more mediocre children.

Palo Alto, Cal., January 26 RAYMOND R. WILLOUGHBY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Plays

Poems

By WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

I

Fruit of the pear—among the leaves
Wind lifts, the stiff dark spray of leaves,
Disclosing the hung red cheek of pear,
Last fruit the denuding autumn leaves—

Solidly sways, too firm to fall—
Reserved last plenitude of fall.
Leaves and the fruit will drop together;
But these dark leaves, before they fall,

Enrich to bloody growth apart,
Until beneath one frost leaves part
From stems and, blackened, drop. The fruit,
Too, darkened in the bitten part,

Falls with a dull thud to the ground
Successive days. Where heels have ground
The pears to pulp late bees and yellow
Wasps fly fiercely: some are drowned.

II

As I go to hunt my job
I see the frozen-tipped leaves of the horse-radishes
Swerve, duck, and bob;
And the jolly cabbages
Squat regimented,
Set down in lines and cultivated
In the midst of the fields—
In lines of blue and green,
With strips beyond of flat black
Earth, between the rows of red
Bud-cabbages, squat in the sun;
And, in a spiral of wind, a spiral of birds
Evolving songless overhead.

First Glance

"CRITICAL WOODCUTS," by Stuart Sherman (Scribner's: $2.50), is one of the most interesting of the five subtle volumes which this critic, who is at once so responsible and so sensitive, has devoted to contemporary literature. But it is not the best. The best is still, I think, the first. "On Contemporary Literature," which was supremely subtle and sensitive, had the advantage in addition of being responsible to an authority that could be defined. I admit the difficulty now of anyone's defining that authority in other terms than those the book used. But at any rate Mr. Sherman was working within limits imposed by an intellectual tradition, an established point of view, a past; and what he said got its great power from the presence of these limits, which in turn any reader of the essays could recognize and—if necessary—discount. Both the limitation and the strength of Mr. Sherman lay then in the fact that the authority which he served led him to deny the vitality of contemporary literature. The test he put upon this literature—its usefulness to the good life—was not a valid one for criticism, I think. Yet in its negative results it was highly interesting, and for one who disagreed with Mr. Sherman the value of the literature as literature stood out thereafter in particularly bold relief. In the very act of denying his authors Mr. Sherman dignified them, even exalted them.

Now he is disposed to accept his contemporaries. And let me hasten to agree with his introductory claim that he has the right thus to change his mind. One who possesses so attractive a mind has not only the right but also the obligation to change it whenever he grows tired of using it in a given way. Mr. Sherman accepts his contemporaries—these new ones—because he finds vitality in them, and he succeeds in the search because he has abandoned any too narrow notion of what the good life—his criterion now as before—consists in. "The important change of which I am conscious," he says, "is in the intensity of my conviction that no man should state very emphatically what 'the good life' is until he has found it. . . . The wise critic attempts on all possible occasions to keep his theoretical and didactic mouth shut and all his other faculties open, here, there, and everywhere, for all the reports and rumors of positive charm and joy in things and people, as the most indubitable tokens that they are participators in some degree of that 'good life' which he is seeking. . . . I have learned that patient search usually discovers some refreshing virtue wherever there has been any unusual display of energy. . . . 'Where there is life there is hope,' and where there is power there is virtue." Essays follow celebrating with all of Mr. Sherman's old eloquence the power, and hence for him the virtue, of Sherwood Anderson, D. H. Lawrence, Ben Hecht, Llewelyn Powys, and Brigham Young—to name merely those whom he might once have found distasteful. Something, however, is lacking. The new field is as yet too broad for its mower, whose swaths are nervous and somewhat zigzag. There was more vitality in Mr. Sherman's denial of life than there is—so far—in his acceptance of it. Accepting life, like accepting the universe, does very well for a starter, since it removes a certain kind of barren prejudice; but it is only a starter, and if one continues merely to approve of authors because they approve of life one will soon have little to say. Mr. Sherman is not so pungent as he has been or as he will be. The question of life disposed of, he will now go on to literature; and whatever he does with that will be worth while.

MARK VAN DOREN

The World-View of Modern Science

The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science. By Edwin Arthur Burtt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.
Science and the Modern World. By Alfred North Whitehead. The Macmillan Company. $3.

"PHILOSOPHY is the attempt to remove the veil which philosophers have cast over the world." So wrote a college student on a recent examination paper. And the answer was not wholly at fault. Sometimes the veil has been gracious drapery which but enhanced the beauty of the form of the world. At other times it has been like the ugly burlap with which a statue is swathed until the gala day of its dedication, and so has needed to be entirely removed if the world was to be truly enjoyed. These two books will do much to get rid of the obscuring philosophies with which we have too frequently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been cursed. Because they return to the methodology and basic conceptions of modern science they have a freshness of contact with living ideas and a sense of realities which make them illuminating and timely.

Mr. Burtt's book is largely historical in nature. It is devoted to the great period of scientific development from Copernicus to Newton. The seventeenth century is, in Mr. Whitehead's happy phrase, "the century of genius," a century which furnished European races with many of the fundamental ideas that have been our intellectual capital ever since. The period begins about the middle of the sixteenth century with the work of Copernicus and reaches its culmination in Sir Isaac Newton's "Principia" in 1687. Mr. Burtt traces better than any one has previously done the story of this scientific adventure—the desire of the leading thinkers to build a world-view which would meet the demands of human reason for a thoroughly intelligible formula for all cosmic processes, the respect shown to the empirical data of ordinary human experience, the influence of religion and faith in Divine Providence. The outcome, however, led to the subordination of other things to the desire for total and comprehensive formulae congenial to human reason. Hence only the mathematical properties of our world remained as part of the objective structure of the cosmos and whatever did not lend itself to mathematical formulation was relegated to a subjective and ineffective status. In Mr. Burtt's words:

> The world that people had thought themselves living in —a world rich with color and sound, redolent with fragrance, filled with gladness, love, and beauty, speaking everywhere of purposive harmony and creative ideals— was crowded now into minute corners in the brains of scattered organic beings. The really important world outside was a world hard, cold, colorless, silent, and dead; a world of quantity, a world of mathematically computable motions in mechanical regularity. The world of qualities as immediately perceived by man became just a curious and quite minor effect of that infinite machine beyond.

Thus man became a prisoner in a world of physical forces. And when later centuries ignored the theological principles upon which all the scientists down through Newton based their thought, this mechanical world became an alien and a hostile world. Ideals became pious but futile wishes, and the laws of matter alone availed.

With a brilliance of penetrating scientific competence joined to broad insight into the values of poetry and art, Mr. Whitehead carries on the story of the development of science to our own day. In his book the criticism which Mr. Burtt often brings into his historical study becomes the main theme. The artificial clarity of the eighteenth century, the aesthetic urgency of the romantic reaction, the nineteenth-century formulation of sweeping laws concerning matter, energy, and evolution, and finally the contemporary controversies over relativity and the quantum theory are all alike made contributory to Mr. Whitehead's own thesis. This thesis is that the formulae of science are abstractions, that the particular abstractions adopted in the past history of science are neither irreformable nor unalterable, and that abstractions can in no case be taken as a substitute for the full reality of daily life. The exclusion of the facts of mind from the mechanical world of materialistic science was justified as a technique, since it simplified the setting within which some problems had to be solved. But it led to the supposition of a realm of mind apart from the material world and this, at first regarded as able to act upon the material world, became at last the impotent spectator of changes it could neither guide nor avoid. Thus by taking the useful and legitimate abstractions of science as veritable cosmic forces, a pseudo-scientific philosophy arose. The conceptions of this mistaken philosophy became the "common sense" of the succeeding centuries and lasted on as the fixed and uncriticized ideas of most thinking men. Thus there is a general danger inherent in modern science. Its methodological procedure is exclusive and intolerant, and rightly so. It fixes attention on a definite group of abstractions, neglects everything else, and elicits every scrap of information and theory which is relevant to what it has retained. This method is triumphant, provided that the triumph is within limits. The neglect of these limits leads to disastrous oversights.

Mr. Whitehead would build up a new philosophy by combining the new physics of the relativity theory with the psychology which was first effectively suggested by William James. The unit-fact of philosophical analysis is the organism. Mind is found already at work in the world, or rather each mind is at work in its own world. The order of nature is the locus of the activity and development of organisms. Description of nature from the point of view of only one organism would be an arbitrary matter; but attempts to describe nature from some point of view other than that of organisms would give us sheer fiction (e.g., the absolute space and absolute time of the classic physics). All points of view are relative, but all are real. Thus we got a pluralism from which we cannot escape into one absolute final point of view. But we should rejoice in the pluralism; for thus we are assured the reality of each concrete situation upon which the varied values of human life depend.

STERLING P. LAMPRECHT

The Quick and the Dead

Harper Prize Short Stories. With an Introduction by Bliss Perry. Harper and Brothers. $2.

Bring! Bring! By Conrad Aiken. Boni and Liveright. $2.50.

Collected Stories and Tales. By Fitz-James O'Brien. Edited, with an Introduction by Edward J. O'Brien. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.

IF that man from Mars were really a superior intellect, he would draw some illuminating conclusions on reading the Harper short stories after the O'Brien volume. He would deduce that in the intervening sixty years there must have been a Maupassant and an O. Henry, but he would never guess the existence of a Chekhov or a Freud; he would suspect our enlarged boundaries, but he would not be conscious of our heterogeneous population; he would learn of new dialects and new customs, but he would be astounded by the seeming sameness of our ideals and purposes; he would surmise the passing of the puritan, but not the coming of the hedonist. And he would sum up his impressions in the statement: "This people and the writers who seek to make it articulate have lived longer, not more deeply; they have had interesting experiences, not moving crises; they have learned tricks, not truths."

For these Harper stories—whether the trite Redbone and the silly sentimentality of Alice Brown or the effective excursions into the unusual by Charles Caldwell Dobie and the scintillating, sophisticated, and distinguished A Captain Out of Etruria by A. R. Leach—are at their best but improvements on the models of O'Brien, differing in no vital character. I find them interesting and amusing, but I do not find them reflecting the few essential changes in our civilization.

The fact becomes more obvious in a comparison of these stories with the work of Conrad Aiken. Mr. Aiken communicates all that mental and spiritual ferment which is of our time. Both form and content spell out the elements that distinguish this age of self-realization from the state of innocency in which O'Brien set down his mild but florid imaginings. I do not mean there is that jargon in his stories by means of which our pseudo-scientists make every ancient commonplace seem a new discovery; I simply mean that, whether in his horror story or in his paean to domesticity, whether in describing a flirtation, a murder, or the afternoon of a child, Mr. Aiken's writing presupposes a twentieth-century intelligence and so-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phistication; I mean that what is fascinating reading today would have been almost unintelligible fifty years ago.

Though not the only American to achieve this contemporaneity in the short-story form, for there are in varying degree Sherwood Anderson, Waldo Frank, and now the brilliant Ernest Hemingway, Mr. Aiken seems to have done so most effectively as well as most naturally. His glittering tales exercise that magic of the ancient mariner because they, too, however extraordinary in theme, are congruous expressions of our life and pertinent studies of our malaise of soul.

O'Brien's stories serve very well as a measuring rod, but they have little value in themselves. Certainly Edward O'Brien's introduction places too heavy a handicap on this work since, after his enthusiastic discussion of its merits, the reader will find anything short of Poe's tales a disappointing anti-climax.

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO

Morality and Choice

Moral Philosophy. By Warner Fite. The Dial Press. $4.

UNDER a somewhat forbidding title the author of this engaging volume returns with a fresh and personal enthusiasm to the original problem of philosophy, which is, I take it, neither the theory of knowledge nor the nature of logic but the art of life; and he begins his discussion with a definition of morality which is, essentially, an artist's definition. Taking his cue from the quotation upon his title page—"The unexamined life is not fit for human living"—he slips from under the upraised hand of those who would deny that morality has any existence aside from *mores* by first admitting all they have to say: No objective standards of conduct exist, there is no act which is in itself either right or wrong; and thus with one admission are destroyed all those systems which would make morality consist in any duty to do or to refrain from doing either this or that. Yet the fact remains that man, however emancipated from any code of conduct, is a moral animal because he lives his life consciously; in this consciousness of the meaning of his acts, in this power of his to consider one line of conduct in contradistinction to another, is the essence of morality, which has at its core not the idea of duty but the idea of choice. The function of moral philosophy is not to prescribe a course of conduct but to constitute a criticism of life, and the chief function of such criticism is, like the chief function of literary criticism, not to pronounce judgments but to illuminate the thing criticized by making more clear its tendency and its relationships. The good life is not the life led thus or so but the life which is in the highest degree conscious of itself as life and which is most aware of the choices which it has made.

Obviously those who long to rehabilitate in one form or another the idea of a moral standard will get but cold comfort from Mr. Fite, and he has no intention of offering them solace. All of the Christian philosophies which in their modern form stem from Kant and all of the non-Christian ones which are based upon utilitarianism rest upon the conception of an imperative, whether that imperative get its sanction from the will of God, the dictates of reason, or the duty of securing the greatest happiness for the greatest number; and the validity of all these imperatives has in one way or another, so Mr. Fite would confess, been successfully questioned. The idea of duty is an idea for which no solid foundation can be found, since the right of a "greatest number" to command is as completely hypothetical as the existence of a God who has definitely legislated. But if man has been cut off from all possibility of guidance from without there remains within the possibility of making a choice, and to live morally is merely to exercise in full consciousness the possibility of that choice. Man differs from the animals not because he is conscious of an imperative but because he alone of all the animals knows that he is an animal, and he is leading the best, that is to say the most human life, when he is developing to the full all the possibilities of consciousness which are implied in the fact that he can not only be a thing but also know what it means to be that thing.

Arrived at this point one may, I think, logically proceed in one of two directions. Certainly the way lies open to that nihilistic attitude which has found its gentlest, suavest, and yet most devastating utterance in the famous sentence of Renan: "The world is a spectacle which the good God has arranged for his own amusement; let us contribute to the design of the great stage director by making it as vivid and as varied as possible." But it is not this way which Mr. Fite has chosen to take. Instead he has argued with urbanity and with humor that for him at least the spectacle of life is richest when it is viewed from the standpoint of one who remains in an Epicurian calm, while other and less reflective persons pursue a thoughtless variety of experience. No Nietzschean participation in the vehement tragedy of life, no stoical pursuit of grandeur and elevation, but the thoughtful repose of the garden represents the highest good which man, essentially a reflective animal capable of magnifying his goods by memory and imagination, is capable of attaining; and it is the one which the clearest-eyed wisdom would choose. Let us, in the words of Pater, choose every moment the most exquisite passion which the world has to offer; but let us not fail to heed Pater's own warning: "only be sure that it is a passion—that it does yield you the fruit of a quickened and multiplied consciousness." If we do heed this warning we shall find that more is lost than is gained in the violent indulgence of random passions. The world in all its vividness and variety is before us, but it is never realized to its full save by those who are in no obvious and outward sense themselves too vivid or too violent.

If this seems in itself to come perilously close to a dogma it is not as a dogma but as a personal confession that Mr. Fite, I think, intends it. His book, ranging freely over the history of philosophy and lingering most gladly upon those philosophers who like Plato and Pater and Santayana are artists also, serves its best purpose in giving to that vague but popular phrase "Life is not a science but an art" a more definite meaning. The meaning is that moral rules—rules, that is to say, for leading a good life—are no more possible than rules for writing a good book, for a life like a book must be judged by the extent to which it accomplishes its purpose, whatever that purpose may be; and an inferior life like an inferior book is merely one which does not know where it is going. Mr. Fite's thoroughly urbane and interesting book states the claim for life as an art and indicates how that art, in one of its forms at least, may be practiced.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Proportional Representation

Proportional Representation. Its Dangers and Defects. By George Horwill. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 6/.

AS a hangover from utilitarianism we still speculate upon the problem: Who shall be represented in a representative government? Inspired by John Stuart Mill, critics lament that popular government is a lying phrase when parliaments reflect only the majority will. Analysis may have shown that public opinion is a mere euphemism for public prejudice, yet men stubbornly fret to give it expression. Hence, to guarantee the minority a share in government, resort is had to an electoral device of the nineteenth century. That device is a mathematical extravaganza dubbed Proportional Representation or P. R., which is contrived to insure for each group that number of representatives rightfully belonging to it by reason of numerical strength. Thus, theory has it, the legislative body comes to reflect a cross-section of the component groups which contribute to public opinion. Elections under this system were held recently in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and other American

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cities where advocates of the manager plan of government hold that the legislative body must represent such cross-sections before the plan will work successfully.

Great Britain also is having an agitation to introduce P. R. into parliamentary elections, and the present volume appears to be propaganda in opposition. Making use of a scholarship turned partisan's handmaid, the author mates statistics with false assumptions to produce conclusions not infrequently plausible. Like most kindred discussions his work suffers from the intellectualist inheritance which exaggerates the importance of political devices. As a result P. R. becomes a bugbear which, in order to undermine government with instability and ineffectiveness, fosters and exploits many small parties. To prove that the contrivance itself is the cause of parliamentary helplessness Mr. Horwill cites the numerous parties that have arisen in France, Sweden, Belgium, and Switzerland since the use of P. R. was begun in those countries. Forgotten are the national and racial antagonisms, the stress of economic conditions, and the turmoil of the late war in this effort to prove that a political creation is really a creator.

With equal speciousness Mr. Horwill attacks the assumption that every minority group of significant size should have its voice in legislation. To him a parliament is a place for action, valuable only when free from all that delays or hinders —a conception presently current with a certain Vice-President of the United States. While he differs from Mr. Dawes in conceding rights, functions, and even value to minorities, he insists that a legislative body is not a talk-shop for obstructive particularists. Their purposes can as well be served elsewhere. Thus he would have minorities proselytize, but not upon a battlefield. Here, however, perverted practices have led to a misconception of the function of debate. Collective wisdom through discussion should temper, mellow, and enrich legislation. Even majority self-interest should recognize a belligerent minority as the most effective safeguard against its own intoxication. The only other mediums for public expression seem to be the press and the forum, and neither is within the easy reach of smaller groups.

Yet the volume is not without value. At a time when fear too frequently obscures political thought the author cautions against that fear which inspires P. R. enthusiasm, the fear of the majority. Concerning the sponsors of the plan, he warns that radicals and reactionaries alike favor it only when they are in the minority, and oppose it vigorously at other times. The weaknesses of the book belong to every work which harps upon machinery for registering opinion in utter forgetfulness of how that opinion comes into being.

DAVID RALPH HERTZ

Books in Brief

Rejuvenation and the Prolongation of Human Efficiency. By Paul Kammerer. Boni and Liveright. $2.

Rejuvenation. By Norman Haire. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

The Internal Secretions of the Sex Glands. By Alexander Lipschutz. Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company. $6.

The origin of the "rejuvenation" theory lies in the work of Frenchmen like Claude Bernard and Brown-Séquard, Germans like Mehring and Minkowski, and Englishmen like Bayliss and Starling, who demonstrated not only the existence of ductless or endocrine glands but also their extraordinary importance. Interested readers possessing no knowledge of the story would do well to commence with Mr. Kammerer. This charming and versatile biologist can tell a story and tell it well. Dr. Haire's product is somewhat too technical for the layman, and perhaps not enough so for the physician; but he writes with knowledge of the subject. The rejuvenation problem as such receives little attention from Lipschutz (who is professor of physiology at Dorpat University), but, on the other hand, he discusses critically and exhaustively all that is known about the internal secretions of the sex glands in all groups of multicellular animals. This work will be treasured by zoologists, physiologists, psychologists, and students of eugenics.

Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama. By H. Dugdale Sykes. Oxford University Press. $4.20.

The studies gathered here are all reprints from various periodicals and are already known to scholars. They deal with the problem of the authorship of a considerable number of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century plays. The papers of most interest to the reader who is not a specialist are those on the much-mooted question of "Timon of Athens" and on the authorship of "Appius and Virginia"—which, it will be remembered, Rupert Brooke took from the canon of John Webster's plays and ascribed to Thomas Heywood and which Mr. Sykes now vindicates as Webster's. Mr. Sykes employs the same methods of literary "connoisseurship" as does the exceedingly prolific and suggestive Mr. J. M. Robertson, but he employs the tests of vocabulary, style, ideas, and the like more cautiously and, having a better sense of the validity of evidence, is not so easily led astray into the fields of improbable conjecture and rash assumption.

Poems. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. Two volumes. $3 each.

Verse Plays. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. $3.

Prose Plays. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. $3.

Mr. Masefield has never before appeared in so dignified and beautiful a dress. The poetry is here complete, and all of the plays are here except "The Trial of Jesus." A definitive edition of Mr. Masefield would, of course, include many additional volumes of prose, and it is to be hoped that three or four of these will find places in the next collection.

The Story of a Novel and Other Stories. By Maxim Gorki. The Dial Press. $2.50.

Whatever Maxim Gorki writes brings its own power of an invincible fascination. His autobiography is in many ways even more enthralling than his stories of the oppressed, but both could be born only in the brain of Maxim the Bitter. He may not possess the stature of Tolstoi and Dostoevski, but he is a relief after the adolescent melancholy of Turgenev, and his rude force is like a wind from the North. "The Story of a Novel" is a fantasy filled with an ingenious humor. The other three stories in the present collection have his accustomed air of reality and distinction. Gorki no longer writes directly of the oppressed, but he is none the less to be read.

The Monroe Doctrine: Its Importance in the International Life of the States of the New World. By Alejandro Alvarez. Oxford University Press. $3.

A distinguished Chilean here puts the Monroe Doctrine in its place. Hitherto the most inclusive case-record available was by a German, Herbert Kraus. Mr. Alvarez has compiled an invaluable source-book, furnishing the documents in each case where the Monroe Doctrine has been brought into play, a summary of the instances in which it was neglected, records of its early days, and the most pertinent speeches and articles of recent years by North and South American publicists—from Olney's day to Hughes's. The Monroe Doctrine emerges as a rather sprawling amoeba, occasionally shrinking but more often enlarging and reaching out in new directions.

Unveiled. By Beatrice Kean Seymour. Thomas Seltzer. $2.50.

In any prolonged contest between people's theories and their affections, the theories usually are compelled to give way in the end. Mrs. Seymour's novel shows how disastrous may

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be the results when they do not. Her central characters cling to ideals which are abstractly admirable, but which leave no room for the adjustments which life makes necessary. Fine relationships go to pieces, and lives are tragically wasted. The author handles an intricate theme with understanding, if somewhat diffusely.

Der Grosse Maggid und Seine Nachfolge. Das Verborgene Licht. Von Martin Buber. Frankfurt am Main: Literarische Anstalt Rütten and Loening.

The weighty words of Dow Bär von Mesritch, disciple of Rabbi Baalschem, the eighteenth-century founder of the sect of Oriental Jews called Chassidists, are here collected by Martin Buber, as he did earlier for the philosophy of Baalschem himself. The collection strikes a Gentile as a curious hodge-podge of profound truth, wire-drawing subtlety, and naive absurdity. Chassidism, esoteric, austere, and generous, is full of virtue and charm, even where it strains hardest for a phrase. "Rabbi Kosnitz spoke of God in prayer: Lord of the World, I pray that thou mayest redeem Israel. But if thou wilt not, then redeem the Gentiles!"

Letters to Katie. By Sir Edward Burne-Jones. London: Macmillan and Company. 10/6.

A most delightful series of letters to a little girl from a famous painter, illustrated with drawings that reveal in the artist an unexpected vein of delicate nonsense. The letters are worthy of Lewis Carroll, the pictures are worthy of the text, and the combination is sure to be irresistible both to young women of Katie's age and to persons much older and wiser.

The Early History of Bengal. By the late F. J. Monahan. Oxford University Press. $5.

This is a lucid and scholarly account of Bengal (and to some extent of the neighboring province of Bihar) during the Maurya Period closely following the invasion of Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. The greater part of the book deals with the social organization in the light of native and classical sources, and there are valuable chapters on the inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka and on the art of the period.

J. Ramsay MacDonald (1923-1925). By Iconoclast. Thomas Seltzer. $2.

An intimate and devoted friend of England's first Labor Prime Minister here carries the life story begun in an earlier volume through Ramsay MacDonald's term of office. The book is in a sense the official history of a great adventure, understanding all and forgiving everything.

A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson. By William Prideaux Courtney and David Nichol Smith. A Reissue of the Edition of 1915. Illustrated with Facsimiles. Oxford University Press. $10.

The numerous facsimiles of title-pages added to this edition of a standard bibliography are done in the best Oxford Press manner; which is to say, in the best manner.

Drama

Silver Lining

AMONG the more esoteric prophets of the newest drama there is a great to-do about harlequinades and puppet shows. Hypnotized by the resounding name of the Commedia dell' arte, they assure us that the solution of all our artistic problems will be found when Sganarelle and Columbine are reintroduced into our dramatis personae, and they are bent upon sending us back to the Guignol in search of our lost youth. Realism is dead, literature is dead, the actor is dead, the theater is dead; and nearly everything else, if we are to believe what they say, is either dead or dying. But something or other—simplicity, childishness, illusion, or convention—is ready to spring into a glorious new birth if only we will pay more attention to marionettes or recapture the naivete of the past. Now, to all this I have no theoretical or dogmatic objection, but I have yet to see any concrete example of the newest art which was not essentially infantile. The best plays of all our recent seasons have invariably been composed of that literature which is said to have no place in the theater, informed by that appetite for essential reality which is said to have no relation to art, and performed by those actors who are soon to be banished from the stage. Moribund perhaps all these things are; but that which is said to be about to replace them is not yet born and there is no good pretending that it is.

Take, for example, "The Chief Thing," which the Theater Guild has had translated from the Russian of Nicolas Evreinov, and is now presenting as its latest offering. Here is a play which manages to get your Harlequin in. Here is much insistence upon "the theater of life" which is said to be "really the same thing as any other theater." And here is a solemn preface about the drama's offering an escape from life and about that love for humanity which requires "a benevolent theatricalization of life." And yet, stripped of its solemn hocus-pocus, there remains but an infantile fable about an eccentric messiah who hires a band of actors to fool a group of lonely souls to the top of their bent with sham friendship and sham love and who merely ducks and runs when the inevitable debacle comes. Considered as trivial farce it is at moments amusing enough; given as it is one of the smoothest, most consistent, and best of Guild performances, it serves to pass an entertaining evening; but offered as it is offered with an esoteric air it is pitifully inconsequential, and its feeble optimism is about as relevant to the tragedies of which it pretends to dispose as are the drivelings of our own Pollyanna school. To the Barries in England and the Evreinovs in Russia a world only too conscious of its sufferings has a right to say: If you have no more than such sorry make-believes to offer then leave us at least the dignity of our tragic story. The problems of the world are not solved so easily as that; the evil goes deeper than your philosophy dreams, and not so will we be put off. A little kindness and a little generosity, the handshake of the optimist, and the fatuous smile of the tuppenny messiah will not resolve the discords of life; we are not children to be solaced with a lollypop. The obdurate heart does not melt when the *deus ex machina* appears, there are clouds which the sun does not break through, and there are conflicts, eternal and profound, which no good-will can resolve. To that we are resigned and we can, perhaps, bear it with equanimity if we face with resolution the fact that it is so; but in frivolous denial there is no comfort to be found, and the jingle of fool's bells is an insult to the dignity of suffering. Comfort us if you can, but do not tell us that our suffering is a joke, for we know only too well how real it is; a delusion that does not delude is the most inconsequential of mockeries.

Undoubtedly, then, they order these things better in Russia. When one is a tired business man one says simply "*I* go to the theater to be amused"; but when one is a weary Muscovite one says instead "Love for humanity requires a benevolent theatricalization of life." And the advantage is obvious, for if one is an American one's play is produced by Ann Nichols, but if one is a Russian the Theater Guild takes it over.

At the Neighborhood Playhouse is now being presented the annual offering of dancing divertissements consisting, this year, of a pantomime impression of Burma by Miss Irene Lewisohn, a Chinese Fantasy, staged according to the traditions of the Chinese theater by Carroll Lunt, and an adaptation of Haydn's one-act opera "The Apothecary." Each has a charm of its own, for there is a strange grotesque beauty in the first, a rococo charm in the second, and a droll humor in the third. As always, the performance is well worth the trip to Grand Street.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the revival of Strindberg's "Easter" (Comedy Theater) no very satisfactory reason can be advanced, for a popular success is out of the question, and this queer play with its unconvincing solution of an unconvincing situation belongs rather among the curiosities than among the masterpieces of the modern drama. In the history of Strindberg's own mind its fantastic assent to the dogmas of Christian mysticism doubtless plays an important part, for it is the outcome of that strange conflict between rational pessimism and conventional piety which sets him apart from his fellow-moderns; but all its premises and its conclusions seem strangely remote from contemporary preoccupations.

"Devils" (Maxine Elliott's Theater) is a direct and obvious melodrama reminiscent in tone and purpose of "Rain," but lacking that play's theatrical effectiveness. Considered as art it is far too obvious to call for comment, but it has a certain interest to the social historian, for it is one of the things which serve to reveal the hatred and fear of the metropolis on the part of fundamentalist backwoods. New York is as afraid of the fervor of the rural South as the rural South is afraid of the wickedness of the great city.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THEATER

A THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION

THE CHIEF THING

A Comedy by NICOLAS EVREINOFF
Translated by Herman Bernstein and Leo Randale

GUILD THEATRE, W. 52nd St. Evs. 8.30
Matinees Thurs. and Sat. 2.30

THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE, 466 Grand Street Tel. Drydock 7516

Repertoire for THE NEXT 4 WEEKS

Tues., Wed. and Thurs. Eves. and Wed. Matinee.

THE **DYBBUK**
English Version by Henry Alsberg

Friday, Saturday and Sunday Evenings and Saturday Matinee.

THREE LYRIC DRAMAS
A Burmese Pwe
A Haydn Opera-Bouffe
A Chinese Fantasy

LECTURES

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN EUROPE
A lecture by MRS. BEATRICE ENSOR
Editor of the "New Era"
Chairman, International Conference on Progressive Education, Heidelberg, 1925.
Community Church Auditorium—Park Ave. and 34th St.
Wednesday evening, April 7, at 8:15.
Prof. Harry Allen Overstreet, presiding. Admission: 75c.

LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL, 14th St. 2nd Ave.
announces the following new courses:

Course 19. The New Knowledge: a modern symposium. Thursdays 8:30 p. m. Sg. adm. 35c.
Apr. 8: "The New Frontiers of Knowledge"; Jesse Lee Bennett.
Apr. 15: "Relativity, the Electronic Theory, and Exact Thinking"; Count Alfred Korzybski.
Apr. 22: "Man and Society"; Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe.
Apr. 29: "The 'Science' of Sociology"; Dr. Jos. K. Hart.
May 6: "The Tragedy of Intellectual Waste, and the Scientific Diffusion of Knowledge"; Stuart Chase.

Course 20. The Sex Life of Woman. 1. Evolution of sex; structure and function of the reproductive system; influence of the ductless glands on sexual character. 2. The nature of the sex impulse; the sexual cycle in woman; the hygiene of sex. 3. Love and marriage; the biology and psychology of love; the present problems of marriage. 4. Eugenics; heredity and environment. 5. Parenthood; the expectant mother; care during pregnancy; sterility and fertility; birth control. **Hannah M. Stone, M.D.,** Clinical Director, Research Dept., American Birth Control League. Fridays 8:30 p. m., Apr. 16-May 14. Fee, $1.00; sg. adm., 25c. Open to women only.

The John Murray Anderson-Robert Milton School of the Theatre and Dance

Offers a Spring Session of the Course in

PLAY WRITING

Conducted by

CHARLTON ANDREWS AND BERTRAM BLOCH

With Special Lectures by

M. L. MALEVINSKY
ARTHUR RICHMAN
DON MARQUIS
CHANNING POLLOCK
J. HARTLEY MANNERS
OLIVER HERFORD
LEE WILSON DODD
CHARLES RANN KENNEDY
AND OTHERS

The only school of the theatre in New York offering such a course in conjunction with its other courses which comprise: Drama, Dancing, Musical Comedy, Scenic and Costume Designing, Fencing, Diction, Pantomime, Opera Comique, Physical Training, etc.

The Course will include both Lectures and Private Conferences.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A PLAYWRIGHT
THE THEME
ELEMENTS
PLOT FUNDAMENTALS
THE COMPLICATION
THE EXPOSITION
PREPARATION
SUSPENSE
SURPRISE
CLIMAX AND DENOUEMENT
PLACING A PLAY

The following subjects will be considered:

DEVICES AND CONVENTIONS
THE CHARACTERS
PLOT AND CHARACTER HARMONY
THE DIALOGUE
KINDS OF PLAYS
SELF CRITICISM

Students of this course will be privileged to attend rehearsals conducted by the directors of the dramatic course, including MR. JOHN MURRAY ANDERSON, ROBERT MILTON, FREDERICK STANHOPE, DAVID BURTON AND JAMES LIGHT. The most promising work of the class will be produced by students of the school before the entire student body.

ENROLL NOW. Department P, Anderson-Milton School, 128-130 East 58th Street, New York City. Phone: Plaza 4524.

The Most Distinctive and Only School of Its Kind in America

MOST REMARKABLE CONCERT OF THE SEASON

Five Great Negro Stars

Paul Robeson
and Lawrence Brown

Rosamond Johnson
and Taylor Gordon

Alexander Gatewood

In Their Expositions of Negro Spirituals

THE TOWN HALL
April 16

TICKETS $1 to $5
BOXES $50
8:30 P. M.

When writing to advertisers, please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

Haiti Misruled

THE following memorandum was presented to the Senate of the United States by Perceval Thoby, former Haitian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, in behalf of sixty-one committees of the Patriotic Union of Haiti. The document was read by Senator King, but its insertion in the *Congressional Record* was opposed and it was finally submitted to the Foreign Relations Committee. The full text follows:

The indictment of present conditions in the Haitian Republic falls under five main heads as follows:

1. Popular elections deferred in violation of the constitution, and election of the Haitian President by an unlawfully constituted Council of State.
2. Depreciation of Haitian currency and mal-administration of the national debt.
3. Changes in land laws depriving peasants of their land, and resulting in increased emigration of Haitian workers to Cuba and elsewhere.
4. Increase in prostitution and social evils owing to military occupation.
5. Secret and unlawful extension, from 10 to 20 years, of the treaty of 1915 between the United States and the Republic of Haiti.

On June 10, 1921, President Dartiguenave sent, through the Haitian Minister at Washington, a secret note to the United States Department of State stating that it was constitutionally time to hold the legislative election, and asking the United States Government to assist him in the election so that his candidates might triumph at the polls.

On September 2, 1921, the United States Secretary of State wrote to the Haitian Minister in Washington denying the request of President Dartiguenave, and stating that the United States Government could not consent to the holding of elections where the result would be determined otherwise than by the freely expressed will of the Haitian people; but on September 21, by order of the Secretary of State, the American Minister to Haiti sent direct to President Dartiguenave a note stating, after enumerating the reasons, that the Department of State did not think it necessary to recommend that the President issue the decree for holding the elections on January 10, 1922, and offered no objection to the President's decision not to convoke the elections, thus leaving it to the Council of State to elect the President. This step, supported by the United States Department of State, was unconstitutional, violating the new statute forced upon Haiti by the United States Government in 1918.

The Council of State is a temporary body organized by dictatorial decree in 1916, and appointed by the President of Haiti. According to the constitution in its transitory provision, Article D, the Council of State can act only temporarily for legislative purposes. There is no provision making that body permanent or empowering it to elect the President.

In a report to his Government dated April 4, 1921, Brigadier General Russell said of the Council of State: "It is my understanding that the Department of State has already stated that the functions of this body must be confined to legislative acts. . . ."

Power to elect the President lies entirely in the National Assembly, formed by the Senate and the House meeting together, according to Title III, Chapter I, Section III, Articles 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44 of the constitution. No legislative election took place January 10, 1922.

On April 10, 1922, fourteen members of the Council of State, meeting secretly at night, chose Mr. Borno as President. The day before, a lawyer, Mr. George M. Leger, served papers on the Council of State, proving that Mr. Borno, being the son of an alien, was not eligible, according to Article 73 of the constitution.

Mr. Louis Borno is the son of a French citizen, Robert Borno. The latter was born at Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadeloupe, French Colony, November 22, 1831, son of two French citizens, Louis Charles Borno and Angèle Rabatte. Robert Borno landed in Haiti with a French passport, June 8, 1840, and was registered under number 22 at the French Legation June 16, 1848. Also registered at the same legation were his sons, Lelio, Jules, Charles, Christian, and Camille. The French Legation, by courtesy certainly, has not mentioned the name of Louis Borno. But Mr. Louis Borno was born September 20, 1865, and his father, Robert, called also Eugène, became a Haitian citizen by naturalization on September 3, 1874, nine years after the birth of Mr. Louis Borno.

So there is no doubt that, when Mr. Louis Borno was born, his father was still a French citizen. The only living and youngest brother of Mr. Louis Borno, Camille, is registered at the French Legation in Haiti as a French citizen. All his nephews are French citizens except Leonce Borno, now Haitian consul in New York, and Paul Borno, the two having taken their Haitian citizenship papers in 1914 and 1920 respectively.

There is no controversy possible about the French nationality of the Borno family.

The farcical election of Mr. Louis Borno has been possible only through intrigues, corruption, and pressure. To win the High Commissioner's support, he agreed to ratify the secret and dead protocol of October 3, 1919, and to launch the $40,000,000 loan in the United States. These facts have been divulged by Mr. Louis Etheart, his former Minister of Finance, in an interview published in a Port au Prince daily, the *Nouvelliste*, on January 29, 1926. Since May 15, 1922, Mr. Borno has exercised a dictatorship under the benevolent protection of General Russell, High Commissioner. By unconstitutional measures he has abrogated the laws guaranteeing the freedom of the press, the liberty of speech, and the right of meeting. Twenty-seven journalists have suffered imprisonment by him during these last three years. Mr. Jolibois and the present editor of the *Courrier-Haitien*, Mr. Blain, are still in prison without trial. The printing office of the *Courrier-Haitien* has been ransacked by direct orders of Mr. Borno.

Mr. Borno intends to get another four-year term. He expects to be chosen again by the unconstitutional Council of State. And to be sure of success, he appointed to the Council of State a certain number of his relatives, his former chiefs of staff, his former secretaries and cabinet ministers. So, if the United States Government allows that body to usurp again the functions of the National Assembly, Mr. Borno will elect himself next month, April 12.

In order to prevent all elections, and nullify the people's votes, he modified the electoral law. Though handicapped, the people tried to vote on the constitutional date, January 10, this year. The morning of election day, in Port au Prince, the voting places were closed and guarded by the police and a marine officer called Lieutenant Beale. A candidate for the mayoralty, Mr. Windsor Bellegarde made an appeal to the dean of the Court of First Instance and the latter issued an ordinance, to be executed without delay, ordering that the doors of the voting places be open and the election held. The Chief of the Constabulary, an American officer, refused to obey the peremptory order of the court. In the afternoon the voters were brutally dispersed and beaten by Beale and his policemen. All over the country the Government acted in the same way. In the town of Leogane the constables fired on the voters, wounding several of them dangerously.

No representatives and no senators were elected and taxation is going on in Haiti without representation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What is Wrong with America? And What is to Be Done?

FOR years the readers of our books have begged for a short and easy answer to these questions. We now offer:

LETTERS TO JUDD

An American Workingman

By UPTON SINCLAIR

Judd is an old carpenter who has worked on our place, a typical, old-fashioned American. We have written him a series of nineteen letters, telling those elementary facts which our ruling classes are trying to keep hidden from the people. Why is there poverty in the richest country in the world? Why, in America for the past thirty-five years have the rich been growing richer and the poor poorer? This book shows exactly what the rich have done to bring this about, and exactly what the poor will have to do to change it. It explains unemployment and hard times, the money system, inflation, stock watering and manipulation, the tariff and the trusts. It studies the world situation, explaining the wars we have had, and showing how the present system is preparing new ones. It discusses Russia and the revolution—in short, everything the average man or woman needs to know about affairs at home and abroad, and all in plain, everyday language. A 100% American book, intended for 100% American readers. Thirty years' study has gone into it, also thirty years of learning how to write.

We have cited only government and Wall Street authorities, and have spared no pains to get it right, hoping for a ten-strike—one of those events in our political history such as Paine's "The Crisis," and Helper's "The Impending Crisis," and George's "Progress and Poverty." James Fuchs writes: "Your 'Letters to Jull' are a vast improvement upon any previous efforts at heart to heart talks with the man in the street. They are *much* more lucid and informative than Blatchford's 'Merrie England.'" We are issuing the book in two editions, one cloth bound, to enable our friends to help pay the cost: price $1, post paid; second, pamphlet form, to be distributed, price ten copies for $1. Order both.

The latest news from the Sinclair publishing business: Under our Loan Plan you may invest $10 in our enterprise, and receive a certificate redeemable at any time on 30 days' notice; and meantime, once each year, you may order $5 worth of our books for $2.50. That is 25% interest per year on your money; and it enables us to keep our books in print.

We have received from our German publishers, the Malik Verlag of Berlin, five stately volumes, the "Collected Novels of Upton Sinclair." From Gossizdat, the State Publishing House of Moscow, we have a list of various editions of our books which have been issued in Soviet Russia; counting, not new printings, but separate publications under different titles, there is a total of sixty-nine. Michael Gold, recently returned from Russia, writes: "The sort of people who in America know Charlie Chaplin and Jackie Coogan, in Russia know Upton Sinclair." We are advised by the Japanese translator of "The Jungle" that the book has just been issued, but the government compelled the publisher to recall all copies, and cut out the last chapters, dealing with Socialism. The Japanese translation of "Mammonart" is about to appear. From Warsaw comes an offer from a large publishing house to issue twenty of our books in a cheap library, at .95 zloty per volume, about thirteen cents American. A Czechish publisher applies for all books not hitherto issued. We have a review of "Mammonart" which was broadcasted from the radio station of the Labour Party of Australia; also a letter from a Ukrainian writer, telling how our plays are being acted there, and our novels made into movies. We have established book-store agencies in London, India and South Africa, and we learn that readers are circulating our books in Java, Honduras, and Iceland. We await returns from the U. S. A.

UPTON SINCLAIR, Pasadena, California

1776 1926

A notable biography

The LIFE and LETTERS of THOMAS JEFFERSON

by Francis W. Hirst

The first biography compatible with the greatness of the American rebel and statesman has been written by a famous English editor and publicist.

Gleanings from a sheaf of praise:

"Much better than anything in print."
—*Saturday Review.*

"An entertaining account."—*N. Y. Sun.*

"Done admirably."—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

"Well worth reading."—*Boston Transcript.*

"Scholarly and human."—*N. Y. Times.*

"A fine presentation."—*Baltimore Sun.*

"Able and comprehensive."—*N. Y. Herald-Tribune.*

At all bookstores—$6.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

60 Fifth Avenue New York

INTELLECTUAL HONESTY

From the thousand and one trivial events of a busy world, THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY selects for you only the ones that are important.

These it presents with the proper perspective and without suppression or exaggeration of facts.

The Manchester Guardian
WEEKLY

in other words, gives for the balanced mind the well balanced diet that is needed to keep alive your intellectual vitality.

Rounding out and completing the news is a selection of editorial opinions on important topics from The Manchester Guardian Daily written with fairness, frankness, and intellectual force.

The intelligent person and the busy person should read The Manchester Guardian Weekly for its discriminating skill in the selection of the world's important news and for that rarest of all qualities—intellectual honesty.

----------MAIL THIS COUPON----------

To The Manchester Guardian Weekly,
222 West 42nd Street,
New York City.

I enclose three dollars for a year's subscription to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, to be mailed to me direct from Manchester, England.

Name .....

Address .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With the approval of the High Commissioner, Mr. Borno has just adopted an agrarian measure detrimental to the Haitian people's welfare. For more than a hundred years it has been Haitian policy to grant to the peasants small lots of the public land by concessions free of cost or by nine-year lease with a moderate rent paid to the state. It was an act of social justice. The chief agricultural products of Haiti pay heavy export duties and it is the peasants who bear the burden of these duties. Coffee pays an export duty of three dollars per hundred pounds. Mr. Borno raised the rent of the land and the peasants paid the rent. On January 29, 1926, in order to get rid of them, he established a new procedure for public utilities, expired leases, non-fulfilment of lease-contracts, etc. Under the new procedure the court is not permitted to grant to a tenant more than eight days to quit and forty days if the latter has built on the lot. The tenant has no right to oppose the procedure or to appeal to higher courts. The Administration is also forcing the peasants to produce their land titles. But most of these titles have been destroyed by damp, insects, fire, etc., and, according to the people's custom, a succession is settled, ordinarily, by family agreement, each one receiving his lot without any title. This is done to save the expenses of a settlement by notary or by the court. Now those who cannot produce their titles are expelled from their lots. Large tracts of government land are to be given to American companies to start rubber plantations in Haiti. The result will be that the peasants will emigrate in greater number. In 1924, 21,013 went to Cuba. Last year they numbered about 30,000. Large groups of families are crossing the Dominican border, deserting the plain of Cul-de-sac in the Port au Prince district. In the South, Archbishop Pichon had to sound the alarm. The plantations are without workers, everyone going to Cuba to earn from $2 to $4 a day. One hundred and fifty thousand peasants have already left Haiti, and these are its best workers.

With the depreciated gourde note, forced on Haiti, wages are too low. The gourde, fixed arbitrarily at 20 cents by the military order of Admiral Caperton, has been maintained at the same rate by Mr. Borno in transferring to the National City Bank of New York the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haïti.

Haiti has already redeemed its depreciated gourde and should have, as its legal tender, the United States currency. But the Banque Nationale d'Haïti, really the National City Bank of New York, with its monopoly in note issues, has put again in circulation the depreciated gourdes at 20 cents value American money. It is a horrible financial exploitation. The country is flooded with that depreciated paper. It lowers the standard of life of the Haitian people and affects principally the wages of the laborers.

How can a man paid a gourde or a gourde and a half, say 20 or 30 cents a day, house, feed, dress himself and pay taxes? With the wasting of public funds in so-called public works and agricultural development taxes are continuously forced on the people.

Last year there was a wild panic in the commercial market, due to the new customs tariff elaborated by the Financial Adviser. The merchants hastened to import goods to avoid high duties. Because of general protest, the contemplated tariff was postponed. A considerable stock of goods is spoiling in store. Large import duties were collected and the American officials boasted the efficacity of their wise administration in Haiti. Now most of the importers cannot meet their commercial and banking obligations. Furthermore, Haiti is exposed to retaliation from other countries, particularly from France, the principal market of Haitian coffee. The prosperity of Haiti is the prosperity of the Americans who are drawing big salaries from the Haitian treasury.

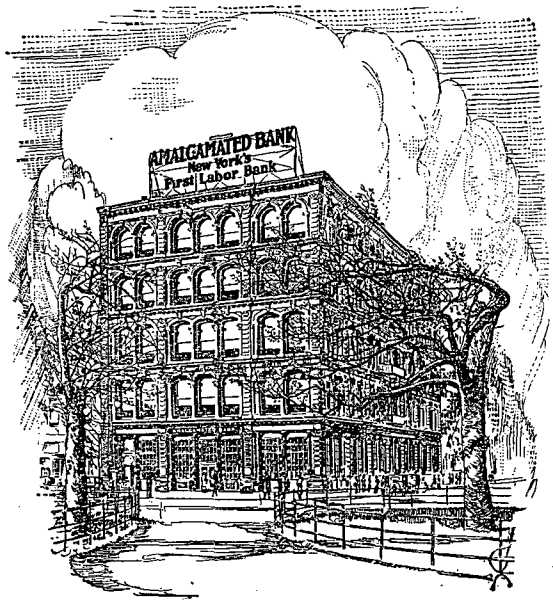
In September, 1922, the total foreign debt of Haiti amounted to 87,023,425 francs, valued at the time $6,971,874 American currency. Contracted in France, it would have been

$1,000,000

Increase in the Resources of

THE AMALGAMATED BANK

Is the record of *two months'* growth



This growth has taken place since we moved into our new quarters with greatly increased facilities of service. Our total resources in the middle of March were

$7,341,066

New York's First Labor Bank offers you SAFETY for the funds entrusted to its care and SPECIAL SERVICE for your needs.

It is those who have been served by the bank who are in a great measure responsible for its growth. They rightly feel that they are a part of this successful movement of the people to keep control of its financial resources.

Whether you have a checking account with the bank or use the FOUR PER CENT INTEREST DEPARTMENT all of its special services are at your disposal.

THE TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

of the

BANK IS EQUIPPED TO ACCOMMODATE YOU WITH ALL FACILITIES: STEAMSHIP TICKETS, LETTERS OF CREDIT, TRAVELERS' CHECKS AND ANY OTHER SERVICE WHICH WILL ADD TO THE ENJOYMENT OF TRAVEL.

AMALGAMATED BANK

Member Federal Reserve System

11-15 Union Square, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN MERCURY

in its first issue carried the first of its *Americana*. This department, items from the American newspapers of the day—and by no means entirely from the rural press—is more enlightening on life as it appears to great numbers of our fellow countrymen than volumes of comment could ever be.

Comic, incongruous, bathetic, outright superstitious, *Americana* raised, month after month, whirlwinds of controversy. At the end of two years Mr. Knopf published

Americana 1925

a compilation of the best of these sidelights on American life. A great deal of new material has been added, and there is a preface by H. L. Mencken, the editor of THE AMERICAN MERCURY, in his best vein. Critics here and in England are over-joyed, indignant, grieved and uproariously amused.

Now we have published a special American Mercury Edition of *Americana 1925*. You want THE AMERICAN MERCURY, of course. *Americana 1925* is a literary curiosity now and as years go by it will become priceless.

Here is your chance to enter your subscription to THE AMERICAN MERCURY for a year and get *Americana 1925*, both for $6.

THE AMERICAN MERCURY 730 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

Please enter my subscription to THE AMERICAN MERCURY for one year, and send me a copy of *Americana 1925*. I enclose check or money order for $6.

Name .....

Address .....

(Please print name and address plainly)

City and State.....

Canadian postage is 50c. additional; foreign $1.

Nation—4-7-26

When writing to advertisers, please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

easily paid over without any other foreign loan. The internal obligations and claims, amounting at that time to about $10,000,000, could have been reduced, consolidated, and settled by the delivery of government bonds, bearing a moderate interest of 5 per cent, according to Haitian precedents. But they wanted the financial subjection of Haiti to the United States. The actual administration, it is said, is planning for this year a new $16,000,000 loan in the United States.

The exploitation of Haiti is the main cause of the sad misery of its masses and of the expatriation of its best workers.

A great moral wrong is also being done to Haiti. This is the rapid spread of prostitution, with its venereal diseases, inseparable from any military occupation. From the neighboring islands and across the Dominican border girls invade Port au Prince and Cape Haitian, lured by the dollars of the marines. Actually, there are in Port au Prince, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, 147 registered saloons and dancing places. All the dancing places are places of open prostitution. Before the American occupation such things did not exist.

The material as well as the moral welfare of Haiti demands the immediate abandonment of the present policy and the withdrawal of the occupation. The country has no voice in its affairs, and since 1917, when Colonel Smedley Butler brutally expelled from their seats the Representatives and the Senators, Haiti has had no constitutional representation. So in the meantime, without the consent of the Haitian people, secret agreements were signed with the American Government in the guise of a so-called additional act for the renewal of the Treaty of 1915, signed by Mr. Borno, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Bailly Blanchard, American Minister, on March 28, 1917. That additional act has never been ratified by the United States Senate and is a violation of Article 16 of the treaty.

The sixty-one committees of the Union Patriotique have intrusted me with a mission to lay these facts before you, in the hope that justice will be done to Haiti and that the Haitians will soon enjoy the privilege of a free and democratic election of their National Assembly.

Washington, March 5, 1926 P. THOBY

The Haitian Council of State

EIGHTEEN members of the Council of State which will elect a president for Haiti on April 12 were chosen last year by President Borno, and three were chosen three years ago. The following list, attached to Mr. Thoby's memorandum, shows the close connection of most of the members with Mr. Borno either as relatives or as political appointees:

Appointed last year

DIEUDONNE CHARLES, nephew of Mme Borno
PASQUIER, nephew of the first wife of Mr. Borno
GEN. SALGADO, his Chief of Staff (1st)
GEN. MARCEL PREZEAU, his Chief of Staff (2nd)
PLACIDE DAVID, his Secretary
AMILCAR DUVAL, his Under Secretary
CH. FOMBRUN, his Secretary of Interior
LOUIS PROPHETE, his Secretary of Agriculture
DR. LESCOUFLAIR, his Secretary of Public Instruction
EMMANUEL CAUVIN, his law partner
GEN. ALFRED MEMOURS, Haitian Chargé d'Affaires in Brussels
GEORGES GENTIL, Haitian Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin
PINCHINAT, a government attorney at St. Marc
EDMOND MONTAS, Chief Clerk of the Foreign Relations Department
DAMASE PIERRE-LOUIS, Chief Clerk (Interior Department)
DR. CALICE, a clerk (Interior Department)
DR. BEAUVOIR, Inspector General of Education
JOSEPH LANOUE, President of the Land Commission

Appointed three years ago

JAMES THOMAS,
ERNEST RIGAUD,
CHARLES ROUZIER, naturalized Haitian, after he deserted the French front, during the late war

Contributors to This Issue

HENDRIK VAN LOON is the author and illustrator of "The Story of Mankind," "The Story of the Bible," and "Tolerance."

IDA TREAT lives in Paris and sends occasional reports of events in France.

ROBERT DELL is *The Nation's* correspondent in Paris. He was formerly with the Manchester *Guardian.*

BENJAMIN STOLBERG frequently writes for *The Nation* on labor subjects.

SMITH W. BROOKHART is a member of the United States Senate from Iowa, and has usually voted with what has been known as the farm bloc.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS is a young poet whose verse has previously appeared in *The Nation.*

STERLING P. LAMPRECHT is assistant professor of philosophy in the University of Illinois.

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO is at present lecturing on subjects having to do with literature and criticism.

DAVID RALPH HERTZ is a lawyer in Cleveland who has made a study of proportional representation.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH has recently published a psychological biography of Edgar Allan Poe.

I'll never move again

By FITZHUGH GREEN

Illustrated by Don Herold

A surprising amount of good advice disguised as humorous essays.

$2.00 E. P. DUTTON & CO., New York

THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK

The Training School for Jewish Social Work offers a fifteen months' course of graduate study in Jewish Family Case Work, Child Care, Community Centers, Federations and Health Centers.

Several tuition scholarships and maintenance fellowships are available to especially qualified students.

For further information, address the Director,

THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK
(Initiated by the National Conference of Jewish Social Service)
210 West 91st Street New York City

When writing to advertisers, please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED